

THE  
APPEAL  
OF

Iniured Innocence :

UNTO

The RELIGIOUS LEARNED  
and INGENUOUS

READER.

In a CONTROVERSIE betwixt the

*Animadverſor*

Dr. PETER HEYLYN

AND

*The Author*

THOMAS FULLER.

---

1 King. 5. 7.

*See how he ſeeketh a Quarrel againſt me.*

Terent. in Eunuch.

*Reſponſum non dictum eſt, quia læſit prior.*

---

LONDON,

Printed by *W. Godbid*, and are to be ſold by *John Williams*  
at the *Crowne* in *St. Paul's Church-yard*.

M. DC. LIX.



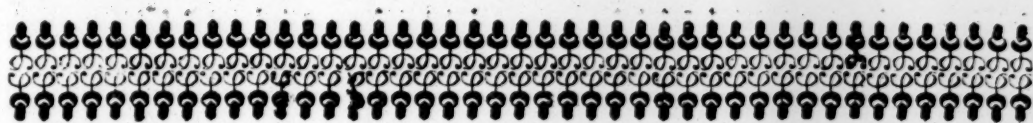
15-419A

SECRET

10-11-12

0-81190-1

5



To the Right Honorable GEORGE BERKELEY, *L. Berkeley,*  
*Moubray, Segrave and Bruce*, my most Bountiful  
and most Exemplary Patron.

SIR,

**M**Y Church-History was so far from prostituting her Self to Mercenary Embraces, She did not at all Espouse any Particular Interest, but kept her self a Virgin.

However, a Dragon is risen up, with much Fiercenesse and fury, threatning this my Virgins destruction.

Your Name is GEORGE, and for you it is as easie as Honourable to protect Her from violence.

If any Material Falshood or Forgery be found in my Book, let LIAR be branded in my face: But oh! suffer not my Injured Innocence to be over-born in such things, which I have truly, clearly, and warily written.

Thus shall you encourage Me (leaving off such Controversal deviations from my Calling) to PREACH and to perform in my Ministerial function somewhat worthy of the Honour to be

*Cranford Moat-house*  
*March the 21<sup>th</sup>.*

Your Lordships most obliged

Servant and Chaplain

THOMAS FULLER.





---

 THE APPEAL OF INJUR'D INNOCENCE.
 

---

## CHAP. I.

*That it is impossible for the Pen of any Historians writing in ( as our's ) a divided Age , to please all Parties , and how easie it is to Cavil at any Author.*



Such as lived after the Flood, and before the Confusion of Tongues, were happy in this particular, that they did Hear to Understand, and Speak to be Understood with all persons in their Generation. Not such their Felicity who lived after the Confusion of Languages at the Tower of Babel, when the Eloquence of the Best was but Barbarisme to all, save a few Folk of his owne Familie.

Happy those English Historians who wrote some Sixty years since, before our Civil Distempers were born or conceived; at leastwise, before there were House-burnings ( though some Heart-burnings ) amongst us: I mean, before Mens latent Animosities broke out into open Hostility; seeing then there was a generall right understanding betwixt all of the Nation.

But alas! Such as wrote in or since our Civil Wars, are seldome apprehended truly and candidly, save of such of their owne perswasion, whilest others doe not ( or what is worthe will not ) understand them aright: And no wonder if Speeches be not rendred according to the true intent of the Speaker, when Prejudice is the Interpreter thereof.

This I foresaw when I entred upon my Church-History, but comforted my self with the counsel of Erasmus; *Si non possis placere Omnibus, placito Optimis*; If thou canst not please all, please the best. In order whereunto I took up to my self this Resolution, to Stere my course betwixt the two Rocks of Adulation and Irritation; though it seems I have run upon both, if the Animadvertor may be beleev'd; whereof hereafter.

As it is impossible in distracted Times to please all, so is it easie for any at any time to Cavil at the best Performance. A Pigmy is Giant enough for this purpose. Now Cavils may be reduced to these two heads:

Cavils { Without Cause.  
Without Measure.

Causeless Cavils are such as the Caviller himself doth create, without any Ground for the same; such find a Knot in a Bulrush, because they themselves before had ty'd it therein; and may be compared to Beggars, who breed Vermine in their owne bodies, and then blow them on the cloaths of others.

Cavils without measure, are, when the anger and bitterness of the Caviller exceedeth due proportion, and the demerit of the Fault; as when he maketh Memorie to be Judgement-mistakes; Casual, to be Voluntary Errors; the Printers, to be the Authors faults: And then brags every Foil to be a Fall, and Triumpheth at the Rout of a small Party, as at the Defeat of the whole Army. This Distinction is here premised, whereof hereafter we shall make use as we see just occasion.

## CHAP. II.

*Why the Author desired and hoped never to come under the Pen of the Animadvertor in a Controversal Difference.*

**I**T was ever my Desire and Care, if it were possible, not to fall under the Pen of the *Animadvertor*; having several reasons thereof to my self, which now I publickly profess:

1. I knew him a Man of able Parts, and Learning; God sanctifie both to his Glory, and the Churches Good.

2. Of an Eager spirit, with him of whom it was said, *Quicquid voluit valde voluit.*

3. Of a Tart and Smart Style, endeavouring to down with all which stood betwixt him and his Opinion.

4. Not over Dutiful in his Language to the *Fathers* of the *Church*, (what then may *Children* expect from him?) it contrary in Judgment to him.

Lastly and chiefly, One, the Edge of whose keenness is not taken off by the *Death* of his *Adversary*; witness his writing against the *Archbishops* of *York* and *Armagh*.

The *Fable* tells us that the *Tanner* was the Worst of all Masters to his Cattle, as who would not onely load them soundly whilest living, but Tan their Hides when dead; and none could blame one if unwilling to exasperate such a Pen, which, it surviving, would prosecute his *Adversary* into his Grave. The premises made me, though not servilely fearful, (which I praise God I am not of any Writer) yet generally cautious not to give him any Personal provocation, knowing that though Both our Pens were Long, the World was Wide enough for them without Crossing each other.

As I desired, so I partly hoped that my *Church-History* would escape the *Animadvertor*: First, because a Gentleman came to me (sent from him, as I supposed) informing me, That had not Dr. Heylin been visited with blindness, he had been upon my bones before. Then I desired him to return this Answer; That, as I was sorry for the Sad Cause, the Doctors Blindness; I was glad of the Joyful Effect, my owne Quiet. Not hearing any more for many moneths after, I conceived my self secure from any wind in that corner.

It increas'd my Confidence, because I conceived Dr. Heylin neither out of Charity or Policy, would write against one who had been his Fellow-Servant to, and Sufferer for, the same Lord and Master, King Charles; for whose Cause I lost none of the worst Livings, and one of the best Prebends in England: Onely thus happy I was in my very unhappiness, to leave what was taken away from the rest of my Brethren.

In a word, seeing no Birds or Beasts of Prey (except Sharp-set indeed) will feed on his own Kind, I concluded Dr. Heylin would not write against me, who conceived my self to be One of his owne Party.

But it seems I reckoned without my Host, and now am call'd to a Rear-account; I cannot say with Job, The thing that I feared; but, The thing that I feared not, is falln upon me.

Psalm 34. 14.

However, I conceived my self bound in Duty to David's Command, Not onely to seek peace, but to pursue it; though in some sort it fled away from me, being now informed that the Doctor was writing against me; wherefore, finding him in Fleetstreet, and following him at his heels to his Chamber, (at a Stationers house over again St. Dunstan's Church) I sent up my Name to him by a Servant of the House, desiring to speak a few Words with him; the Messenger went to him, and return'd me this Answer; That the Doctor was very busie, and could not be spoken with. Thus my Treaty for Peace taking no effect, I armed my self with Patience, and quietly expected the coming forth of his Book against me.

CHAP.



## CHAP. III.

*That after serious Debate the Author found himself Necessitated to make this Appeal in his own just Vindication.*

HAVING perused the *Books* of the *Animadverſor* againſt me, it bare a ſtrong Debate within me, whether I ſhould paſs it over in ſilence, or return an *Answer* unto him, and *Arguments* on both ſides preſented themſelves unto me.

*Silence* ſeemed beſt, becauſe I *lacked leiſure* ſolemnly to confute his *Animadverſions*, having at this time ſo much and various *Employment*: The *Cow* was well ſtocked with *Milk*, thus praiſed by the \* *Poet*;

*Bis venit ad Mulctrum binos alit Ubere fetus.*

She ſuckles Two, yet doth not fail

Twice a day to come to th' Pail.

But I juſtly feared, who twice a *Lords-day* do come to the *Pulpit*, ( *God* knows my Heart I ſpeak it not to *Oſtentation* ) that I could not ſuckle my *Parish* and the *Preſs*, without *Starving* or *Short-feeding* of one: Whereas the *Animadverſor* in his retired *Life* gives *no other Milk* then following his own private *Studies*.

Secondly, I ſuggeſted to my ſelf, that the *ſecond blow makes the Frey*, and ſhould I rejoyn, probably it would engage me in an endleſs Conteſt, with which my declining age could ill comport. I remembered the Man who moved in *Chancery* for a *Gelt Order* which ſhould beget no more; but knew not when any ſuch *Eunuch-Answer* ſhould paſs betwixt us, to put a period to the Controverſie.

Laſtly, our *Saviours* counſel came into my miad, Matth. 5. 39. *Reſiſt not evil; but whoſoever ſhall ſmite thee on the right ſide, turn to him the other alſo.* And although ſome *Divines* make this *Precept* but *Temporary* ( as a *Swadling-cloath* to the *Church*, whiles in the *Infancy* thereof, under *Perſecution*; ) yet others make it alwaies *Obligatory*, and of perpetual Continuance.

On the other ſide, the *Diſtinction* came ſeaſonably to my *Remembrance*, of a Mans *RIGHTING* and *REVENGING* himſelf; the latter belongs to *God* alone, \* *Vengeance is mine, I will repay it*; the former *Men* may, and in ſome caſes muſt do, in their owne fair defence, without *Breach* of our *Saviours* *Precept* lately alledged.

\* Rom. 12. 19.

I called alſo to Mind, how in our *Common Law*, *MUTES* at the *Bar*, who would not plead to the *Indictment* are *Adjudged guilty*, and therefore juſtly ſuſpected I ſhould from my *Silence* be concluded *Caſt in the Court of Religion and Learning*, for ſuch *Faults* and *Errors* as the *Animadverſor* hath charged on me.

But moſt of all it moved me, that *Ministers* of *Gods Word* and *Sacraments* ought to *Vindicate* their *Credits*, that ſo they may be the more *Effectual Factors* for *Gods glory* in their *Vocation*. When our *Saviour* went about to *Heal* the *Mans withered hand* on the *Sabbath day*, Mar. 3. 4. *Is it lawful* ( ſaid he ) *to ſave Life, or to Kill?* Where I obſerved, that our *Saviour* accounted *not healing* to be *hurting*; yea, *not curing* to be *killing*, in that perſon who had *Ability* and *Opportunity* to do it. And by the ſame Proportion, *not plaſtering* is *Killing* of ones wounded *Credit*, and ſo conſequently I ſhould be *FELo DE SE*, and by my *ſinful Silence* be the *Wilful murderer* of my own *Reputation*.

Theſe laſt *Reaſons* did preponderate with me; and I reſolved on two things; to return a *Plain, Full and Speedy Answer*; and to refrain from all *Railing*, which is a *Sick Wit* ( if not the *Sickneſs of Wit*; ) and though perchance I may have ſomething *tart* to *Quicken* the *Appetite* of the *Reader*, yet nothing *bitter* againſt the *Credit* of the *Animadverſor*. This my *Answer* I have here Entitled, *The APPEAL unto the RELIGIOUS, LEARNED and INGENUOUS.*

But before I cloſe with the *Animadverſor*, *Comminus, Hand to hand*; let us firſt, *Eminus*, try it at *Distance*, and entertain the *Reader* ( to his *Proſit* and *Pleasure*, I hope ) with my *General Defences*, before I proceed to *Answer each Particular.*



## CHAP. IV.

*The Author's first General Answer taken from his Title-page and Word ENDEVOURED.*

**M**En may be ranked into three Forms, of *INTENDERS*, *ENDEVOURERS* and *PERFORMERS*.

*INTENDERS* are the first and lowest Form, yet so far favoured by some *Papists*, that they maintain, That a good Intention though embracing ill Means, makes a good Action.

*PERFORMERS* are the third and highest rank, to which my Thoughts dare not aspire, but leave this upper room empty, to be filled by Men of better parts and ability.

The middle Form consists of *ENDEVOURERS*, amongst whom I took my station in the Title-page of my Book, *The Church-History of Britain, ENDEVOURED by Thomas Fuller*. And as I did not hope that any Courteous Reader would call me up higher, so I did not fear that any Caviller thereat could cast me lower, but that I might still peaceably possess my Place of an *ENDEVOURER*.

For, what though I fall short of that which I desire, and strive to perform, I did neither belie my self, nor deceive the Reader, who neither was the first, nor shall be the last, of whom it may be truly said, *Magnis excidit Ausis*. The Fate of many, my *Betters*, who have undertook to compass high and hard Matters.

But it may be objected against me, that being conscious of my owne weakness with the weight of the burden, I should have left the Work for some stronger back to bear, and quitted it to those who would not only have endeavoured but performed the same.

I answer; first, I did hope, that what was acceptable to God, would not be contemptible to good Men; having read, *If there be first a willing mind, it is accepted according to that \* a man hath, and not according to that he hath not*. Secondly, seeing this my willingness was attended with a competencie of Books, Records, Friends, Intelligence, Strength, Health and Leisure, (be all spoken not to my praise, but Gods glory) I did hope something worth the Readers acceptance might be produced. Lastly, though failing in what I undertook, I hoped to perform what might be usefull and advantageous to abler Pens undertaking the same task, and to use my owne (as who should forbid) Expression, my Beams, might be Scaffolds; my Corner, Filling stones for his more beautiful Building.

The premisses encouraged me to undertake my *Church-History*; wherein, if I have not done what the Reader expected, let him consider with himself, whether he did not expect what I never promised. Who being unwilling to be Cast by the Verdict of the Ingenuous, for laying my owne Action too high, have not forced the first page of my Book, like a *Mountebanks Bill*, pretending no higher but to *ENDEVOUR*,

## CHAP V.

The Second Generall Answer.

*That many, especially MEMORY Mistakes and Pen-slips, must be expected in a great Volume.*

**I**T is the Advantage of a Small Book, that the Authors Eye may in a manner be Incumbent at once over it all, from the Beginning to the End thereof; a Cause why they may be more exactly corrected. A Garden hard by ones House is easier Weeded and Trimmed, than a Field lying at some distance; Books which swell to a great Volume, cannot be spun with so even a Thread, but will run courser here and there; yea, and have Knots in them sometimes, whereof the Author is not so sensible as the Reader; as the Faults in Children are not so soon found in them by their own Fathers, as by Strangers. Thus the Poet; *Verum opere in Longo Fas est obrepere somnum*.

As for *MEMORY-MISTAKES*, which are not the Sleeping but Winking of an Author, they are so far from overthrowing the Credit of any Book, as a speck, (not paring-deep) in the rind of an apple, is from proving of the same rotten to the core.

Yea,

Yea, there want not *learned Writers* (whom I need not name) of the Opinion that even the *Instrumental Pen-men* of the *Scripture* might commit ἀμαρτήματα μνημόνια; though open that *window* to *profaneness*, and it will be in vain to shut any *dores*; Let God be true, and every man a *lyer*: However, I mention their judgments to this purpose, to shew that *Memory-mistakes* have not been counted such *hainous* matters, but *venial* in their own nature, as not only *finding* but *deserving pardon*.

I confess when such *mistakes* become *common* and *customary* in an *Author*, they mar the *credit* of his *Book*, and intollerably abuse the *Reader*. Nothing is lighter in it self than a *single crumb* of *Sand*, yet many of them put together are the *heaviest* of *bodily burdens*: *Heavier than the \* Sand on the Sea*. What is *flight* in it self, if *nume- \* Job 6. 3.* *rous*, will become *ponderous*; but I hope that *Memory-mistakes* and *Pen-slips* in my *Book* will not be found so frequent; and desire the *benefit* of this *Plea* to be allowed me but *four times*, in my *Answer* to the *Animadvertor*. A *Number* low enough, I hope, for the *Ingenuous Reader* to grant, though perchance *too high* for me to request.

## CHAP. VI.

## The Third General Answer.

*That in Intire Stories of impregnable Truth it is facile for one to Cavill with some Colour at Dismembred Passages therein.*

IT is an Act as *easy* as *unjust*, for one to assault a *naked Sentence*, as it stands by it self, disarmed of the Assistance of the *coherence* before and after it: all *Sentences* (except they be *intire* and *independent*) have a double *strength* in them, one *Inherent*, the other *relative*, and the latter sometimes greater than the former; when what in a *Sentence* is doubtful, is explained; difficult, expounded; defective, supplied; yea, seemingly false, rendred really true by the *Connexion*.

We read in the Life of \* *St. Edward*, that *Harold Cup-bearer* to the King, chanced to stumble with the one foot, that he almost kissed the *Ground*; but with the other *Leg* he recovered himself: whereat his Father *Godwin*, Earl of *Kent* (then dining with the King) said, *Now one \* Brother doth help another*; to whom the King replied, *And so might my Brother have helped me, if it had so pleased you.*

\* Cited in Cam. Remains, pag. 241.

\* Meaning his Brother Alfred whom Godwin had shamefully murdered.

Many times when one *Sentence* in my *Book* hath had a *Casual slip*, the next to it out of *Fraternal kindness* would have held it up (in the apprehension of the *Reader*) from falling into any *Great Error*, had the *Animadvertor* so pleased, who uncharitably cutteth it off from such support, so that *one Brother cannot help another*; whilst he representeth *mangled* and *maimed* Passages, to the Disadvantage of the *Sense* and *Writer* thereof. Thus one may prove *Atheisme* out of *Scripture* it self; *There is no God*. But what went before? *The fool hath said in his heart.*

I have dealt more fairly in this my *Appeal* with the *Animadvertor*; and have not Here and There picked out *Parcels*, and cut off *Shreads* where they make most for my advantage; but have presented the *whole Cloath* of his *Book*, (as he will find so, if pleasing to measure it over again) *Length* and *Breadth*, and *List* and *Fag* and all; that so the *Reader* may see of what *Wool* it is made, and what *Thread* it is spun, and thereby be the better enabled to pass his verdict upon it.

## CHAP. VII.

## The Fourth General Answer.

*That FAVOUR of COURSE is indulged to the first (as least perfect) Edition of Books.*

THE *first Edition* of a *Book*, in a difficult Subject, hath ever been beheld as less complete; and a liberty of *Correcting* and *Amending* hath been allowed to all *Authors* of this kind.

I will instance in his *Book* (whose Books would I was worthy to bear) Mr. *Camden's Britania*. His *first Edition* was a *Babe* in a *little*; the *second*, a *Childe* in a bigger *Octavo*; the *third*, a *Youth* in a *Quarto* (but *Map-less*;) the last, a *Man* in a fair *Folio*; first and last differing more then a *Gally* and *Galeas*, not onely in the *Greatness* but *Perfection*, every newer *Edition* amending the *Faults* of the former.

Next



Next, we will insist in another *Author above all exception*, even the *Animadver-*  
*tor* himself, who in his *Epistle* to the *Reader*, before the *Second* and much altered  
*Edition* of his *MICROCOSME*, thus expresseth himself, not unhappily either for his  
 owne or my purpose:

‘*I am not the first of whom it was said, Secundæ Cogitationes sunt meliores;*  
 ‘*neither is it a thing rare for Children of this nature, to be as often perfected as born;*  
 ‘*Books have an Immortality above their Authors. They when they are full of Age*  
 ‘*and Guiltiness, can be retaken into the wombe which bred them, and with a new Life,*  
 ‘*receive a greater Portion of Youth and Glory. Every Impression is to them another*  
 ‘*being; and that alwayes may, and often doth bring with it, a sweeter Edition*  
 ‘*of Strength and Loveliness. Thus with them Age, and each severall Death, is but an*  
 ‘*Usher to a new Birth; each severall Birth the mother of a more vigorous Perfection.*

Had the like liberty of a *Second Edition* been allowed me, which the *Animadver-*  
*tor* assumed, his pains had been prevented, and most of the Faults he hath found in  
 my Book (being either detected by my self, or discovered by my Friends, com-  
 municating the same unto me) had been rectified.

Thus in the *Latin* Tongue the same word *SECUNDUS* signifieth both *Second*  
 and *Successful*, because *Second Undertakings* (wherein the failings of the former  
 are observed and amended) generally prove most *Prosperous*.

But it will be *Objected*, Such *Second Editions* with new *Insertions, Additions* and  
*Alterations*, are no better than *Pick-pockets* to the *Reader*, who having *purchased*  
 and *perused* the *first Edition*, is by this *new one*, both in his *purse* and *pains* equally  
 abused, and his Book rendred little better than *Waste paper*.

I *Answer*; First, I am no more obnoxious to this *Objection* than other *Authors*  
 who set fort *New Editions*. Secondly, I hope my *Alterations* shall not be so  
 many or great as to disguise the second from the first *Edition*; Lastly, I will take  
 order (God willing) for the *Printing* of a peice of Paper (lesse then a *Leaf*)  
 in my second *Impression*, being the *Index of Alteration*, so that the *Owners* of the  
*First*, may (if so pleased) in less then an *Hour*, with their *Pens*, conform their *Books*  
 to the new *Edition*, which though a little less *Beautiful* to the *Eye*, will be no less  
*Beneficial* to the *Users* thereof.

Here let me humbly tender to the *Readers* Consideration, that my *HOLY*  
*WARRE*, though (for some *Design* of the *Stationer*) sticking still in the *Title*  
*Page*, at the *third Edition* (as some *unmarried Maids* will never be more then *eigh-*  
*teen*) yet hath it oftner passed the *Press*, as hath my *HOLY STATE, MEDITA-*  
*TIONS*, &c. and yet never did I alter *Line* or *Word* in any new *Impression*.

I speak not this by way of *Attribution* to my Self, as if my *Books* came for that first  
 with more *Perfection* then other *Mens*, but with *Insinuation* to the *Reader*, that ti is  
 but equall that I, who have been no *Common Begger* in this *Kind*, yea never before  
 made use of a *second Edition*, may now have the *Benefit* thereof allowed me, especi-  
 ally in a Subject of such *Length, Latitude, Difficulty, Variety* and *Multiplicity* of *Matter*.

## CHAP. VIII.

### The Fifth General Answer.

*That it is no shame for any Man to confesse (when convinced thereof) and*  
*amend an Error in his Judgement.*

**T**He Knowledge of our Saviour, as *God*, may be compared to the *Sun*, all perfect  
 and compleat at once without any accession or addition thereunto, whilst his  
 Knowledge, as *Man*, like the *Waxing Moon* was capable of *Increase*, and was  
 (though not subject to the least *Error*) receptive of clearer *Information*; \*and *Jesus*  
*increased in Wisdom*; yea, it is expressly said, yet learned he *Obedience* by the thing  
 which he suffered.

\* Luke 2. 52.



Not such, the Knowledge of the best and wisest Man, which besides a Capability of more Instruction, is always attended with an obnoxiousness to many mistakes, seeing *here we know in part*, and easy it is for any Man to come on the *Blinde Side* of another, as being better versed and skilled in such particular matters. \* 1 Cor. 13.9.

When therefore I find my self convinced in my Judgement of an Error in my *Church-History*, by perusing the Notes of the *Animadvertor*, I will fairly and freely confesse and amend it.

And I conceive it is no shame at all for a *Childe* to write a few Lines of *Retraction*, after so good a *Father* hath set him so fair a Copy thereof. \* St. Augustin.

In such a case let not the *Animadvertor* give me any *Blowes*, where I conceive that my own *Blush* is a sufficient *Penance* for the same; and let him not immoderately insult on such occasions, seeing my *Judgement-Faults* will be found neither in number nor Nature such as He hath suggested. Covetous *Euclio* in the *Comedy*, complained that his Servant *Intromisit Sexentos Coquos*, had let in six hundred Cooks, when they wanted five hundred ninety eight of that number, being but two [*Anthrax* and *Congrio*] truly told; and though the *Animadvertor* frequently complaineth, that I *run into many Errors*, run into many Errors; yet on examination, many of those Errors will prove Truths, and such as remain Errors will not prove many. \* Aulularia Plauti. \* Page 218, 223, and often elsewhere.

Besides, the *Animadvertor* is concerned to be civill to me in this Kind, seeing in this particular.

*Veniam petimus dabimusque vicissim:*

A mutuall Bargain we may make,  
Pardon to give, and Pardon take.

If I were minded to *retaliate*, and to show that *Humanum est errare*, I could instance in many mistakes in the last Edition of his *Geography*. Some of the best Birth and Brains in our Nation, and Travellers in foreign parts, as far as *India* it self, proffered me on their accord to detect in several Countryes unexcusable Errors, confuted by their ocular discovery.

I heartily thanked them for that which I refused to accept; and did return; First, that the Book had atchieved a generall Repute, and not undeservedly. Secondly, that it was very usefull, and I my Self had reaped Benefit thereby. Thirdly, that it would seem in me *like to Revenge* in this Juncture of Time, when the Doctor was disadvantaged by some Infirmary. Lastly, that others might be detrementted thereby. Yea, if we but look into his *SHORT VIEW of the Life and Reign of King CHARLES*, some Faults occur therein which God willing I will calmly discover in our Answer to these Animadversions, not with intent to *Cloud* his *Credit*, but *Clear* my own.

## CHAP. IX.

### The Sixth General Answer.

*That Prelial Mistakes in Desfiance of all Care will escape in the best Corrected Book.*

**T**HE most accurate Book, that ever came forth into Light, had some Mistakes of the *Presse* therein. Indeed, I have heard of *Robert Stephen*, that he offered a great Summe of Money (equivalent perchance to five Pounds of our English Coin) to such who would discover any Erratum in his *Folio Greek Testament*, dedicated to King Francis the first.

But

But sure I am, that some of our *English Bibles*, which may be presumed set forth with the best Care, printed at *London*, have their *Errats*; and therefore *Prelial Faults* being a *catching Disease*, no wonder if my Book as well (or rather as ill) as others, be subject to the same.

Here it will be objected that there is a *known* and *sure Receipt* for the Cure of this Disease, viz. the *Lifting* of such *Faults* as have escaped, either in the *Beginning* or *End* of the Book; that so the Reader may, if he please, *amend*, if otherwise, *avoid* them. Such an *Index Erratorum*, or *Catalogue of Mistakes*, is, in some sort a *STOOL OF REPENTANCE*, wherein *Offenders find* their *lost Innocence*; and such faults thus confessed, are never charged either on the *Author's* or *Printer's Account*.

It is answered, that although such a List of Faults, generally followeth as the *Impedimentum* or *Baggage* in the Rere of a Book, yet seldome or never is it adequate to all the *Errata's*, which are committed therein.

For first, all committed, are not *discovered*, neither by the *Corrector*, nor the *Author* himself, who perusing his own Book, in *overlooking* the faults therein, *overlooks* them indeed, and following the conduct of his own fancy, (wherein He intended all to be right) readeth the words in his Book, rather as they *should be*, than as *they are printed*.

Secondly, all faults which are *discovered* are not *confessed*. Such as the Printer esteemeth small, He leaveth to be amended by the *direction* of the *Sense*, and *discretion* of the *Reader*; according to the common Speech, that the *Reader ought to be better than his Book*.

In my Book, the *Index* of *Errata's* amounts not to above *forty*, a very small number in proportion of so voluminous a Work, which *with Credit* might crave the *allowance* of twice as many more thereunto: The *Animadvertor* in these his *Notes*, maketh great advantage of some of these *un-confessed-Faults*, and I sometimes plead the mistake of the *Prefs* for my Answer, though seldome, save when some *similitude of form* in the mistaken letter rendreth it probable for a *Prelial Error*.

## CHAP. X.

### The Seventh and last General Answer.

*That an Author charging his Margin with his Author is thereby Himself discharged.*

**H**istorians, who write of things done at *distance*, many miles from their *dwellings*, and more years before their *Births*, must either feign them in their owne *Brains*, or fetch them from other credible Authors. I say *credible*, such as carry *worth* and *weight* with them, *Substantial Persons*, *Subsidie men* (as I may say) in *Truths Book*; otherwise, for some *Pamphlets*, and all *Pasquils*, I behold them as so many *Knights of the Post*, even of no Reputation.

Now, for the more credit of what is written, and better assurance of the Reader, it is very expedient that the Author alledged be fully and fairly quoted in the *Margin*, with the *Tome*, *Book*, *Chapter*, *Leaf*, *Page* and *Columnne*, sometimes (seldome descending so low as the *Line*) where the thing quoted is expressed; and this done, the *Author* is free from fault which *citeth it*, though He may be faulty who is cited, if delivering a falshood.

Indeed, if one become bound as *Surety* for another, he engageth Himself to make good the *Debt* in the Default of *Principal*. But if he onely be *Bail* for his *Appearance*, and accordingly produceth his Person in *Publick Court*, He ought to be discharged without farther trouble.

Semblably, if one not onely *cites*, but *commends* the words of an *Authour*, then



then He *undertakes* for him, *adopts* his words to be his *owne*, becomes his *Pledge*, and consequently is bound to justify and maintain the truth of what he hath quoted. But if he *barely* alledgeth his words, without any *closing* with them in his Judgement, he is onely bound for that *Author's appearance*. Understand me, to justify that such words are exactly extant in *manner* and *form* in the place alledged, easy to be found by any who will follow the *Marginal direction*.

This I reserve for my *Eighth* and *last Answer*, when taxed by the *Animadverſor* for such things for which I have presented my *Author* in the *Margin*. In such cases I conceive I should be discharged; and, if any *Fees* at all be to be paid, I hope the *Courteous Reader* (on my request) will *remit* them, and *dismisſ* me, without more moleſtation.

## CHAP. XI.

*That many of the Animadverſors Notes are onely Additional, not Opposite to what I have written; And that all things, omitted in an History, are not Defects.*

WHO ſo beholdeth the Several places in my Book, noted on by the *Animadverſor*, hath cauſe, at the firſt Bluſh, to conclude my *Church-History* very *Erroneous* and full of *Faults*; out of which, ſo bigg a Bundle of *Miſtakes* have been collected: but upon ſerious Peruſal of theſe Notes, it will appear that a *third part* of them at the leaſt, are meerly *Additional* not *opposite* to what I have writtten; ſo that they render my Book not for *Truth* the leſſe, but his for *Bulk* the greater.

Herein he ſeemeth like unto thoſe *Builders*; who either wanting *Materials* to erect an *intire houſe*, or fearing ſo *frail* and *feeble* a *Fabrick* will not ſtand by it ſelf, run it along the ſide-walls of another houſe, whereby they not onely ſave *Timber*, but gain ſtrength to their *New Ediſice*.

The *Animadverſor* had a Mind to communicate ſome new *Notions* he had to the *World*, but he found them not *many* and *weighty enough* to fill a juſt Book for *Sale*: whereupon, he reſolves to *range* his *Notions* againſt my *Church-History*, that ſo partly *carping thereat*, and partly *adding thereto*, he might betwixt both make up a Book Competent for *Sale*.

Hence, it is that ſometimes not liking my *Language* (as not *proper* and *expreſſive enough*) he ſubſtituted his *owne*, with *little* or *no variation* of *Matter*; and ſometimes adds new *Paſſages*: ſome whereof I could formerly have inſerted, but becauſe I perceived my Book (as the *Reader* is ſenſible by the *price* thereof) grown already to too great a *Volume*.

When *Additional Notes* frequently occur, I conceive my ſelf not obliged in the leaſt degree to return an *Answer* thereunto, as being rather *besides* than *againſt* what I have written: However, if I have left out any thing, it would have been ſuſpected I had omitted that which moſt had made againſt me, to prevent which *Jealouſie*, ſuch *Additional Notes* are alſo here *verbatim* repreſented.

To ſuch as object that the *Animadverſor's Additions* are *Suppletory* of the *Defects* in my *Church-History*; I anſwer, that a *Defect* properly is *Absentia debiti adeſſe*, the *Absence of what ought to be there*, ſo that a thing is *maimed* or *lame* without it.

But *Additions* to an *History* are reducible to theſe two Heads, *viz.* either ſuch as they

Must without Imperfection }  
May without Impertinency } be added.

Few, if any, of the former; ſome of the latter kind are found in the *Animadverſor's Additory Notes*. And let me tell Him, that if He writes Books againſt



all who have *written Books*, and have not *written all* which may be said of *their Subject*, he may even *write* against all who have ever *written Books*, and then He will have *work enough*.

Let us go no farther then to his own *Geography*, being sure he is too *Judicious* to be so conceited of his own pains, as to think he hath inserted all that may be said of so large a Subject.

*\* In Vit. Aesopi.*

The *\* Story* is well known of *Aesop's* Master, who buying two Servants together in the *Market-place*, demanded of one of them, what *he could doe*; He answered, that he *would doe all things, doe all things*. Then the other [*Aesop* himself] being askt what *he could doe*, answered, *He could doe nothing*. His Master seeming angry to keep so *unprofitable a Servant*; *How can I* (returned *Aesop*) *doe any thing, when my Fellow-servant will doe all, and leave me nothing to doe?*

If Dr. *Heylin* hath done *all things* in his *Geography*, he hath given a *Writ of Ease* for ever to *Posterity*, who may *Despair* to merit more of that matter. All who hereafter shall write a *new Book of Geography*, must also find out a *new World* with *Columbus*, as anticipated by the *Doctör*, having formerly completed all on that Subject.

I presume not to say, that I have in my *Church-History* done *all things*, having written many and most material *Passages*, leaving the rest to others. But this I say, that *all things* left out in a *History*, are not *wanting*; neither are *all things wanting*, *Defects*, if not *essential* thereunto. As for some of the *Animadvertisers* added *Notes*, they are no more *needful* or *useful* than a *sixth finger* to a *mans Hand*, as (God willing) in due time shall appear.

## CHAP. XII.

*That the Author Designed unto himself no Party-pleasing in Writing his Church-History.*

**P**artiality is constantly charged on me by the *Animadvector*, and once, with a witness, as followeth, pag. 257.

*We see by this, as by like Passages, which way our Author's Bowle is BYASSED, how constantly he declares himself in Favour of those who have either Seperated from the Church, or appeared against it.*

I return, (to prosecute his *Metaphor*) that I have used as *UPRIGHT BOWLES* as ever any that enter the *Alley of History*, since our *Civil Dissentions*.

I do freely declare my self, that I in *Writing my Book*, am for the *Church of England*, as it stood established by *Law*; the *Creed* being the *Contracted Articles*, and the *39. Articles* the *Expanded Creed* of her *Doctrine*, as the *Canons* of her *Discipline*. And still I prize her *Favour* highest, though for the present it be least worth, as little able to *protect*, and less to *prefer* any that are faithfull to her *Interest*.

As for *pleasing of Parties*, I never *Designed* or *Endevoured* it. There were a kind of *Philosophers*, called *ELECTICI*, which were of *none*, yet of *all Sects*, and who would not engage in *gross* in the *Opinions* of any *Philosophers*, but did pick and choose here and there, what they found *Consonant* to *Truth*, either amongst the *Stoicks*, *Peripateticks*, *Academicks*, or (misinterpreted *Epicures*;) receiving that, and rejecting the rest; such my *Project* to commend in all *Parties* what I find *praise-worthy*, and condemn the rest; on which Account, some *Fleer*, some *Frown*, none *Smile* upon me.

First, for the *Papists*, though I malice not their *Persons*, and have a *Pity* (as God I hope hath a *Mercy*) for many amongst them, yet I do, as *occasion* is offered, dislike their *Errors*, whereby I have incurred (and according to their *principles*) deserved their *Displeasure*. The

The old *Non-conformists* being the same with the modern *Presbyterians*, but *depressed and under*, as the modern *Presbyterians* are the old *Non-conformists*, but *vertical* and in *Authority*, do (though the *Animadvertor* twitteth me constantly to Advocate for them) take great and general exception at me; and it is not long since, in a Meeting of the most Eminent amongst them, I was told, that *I put too much Gall into my Inck against them.*

The *Inaependent*, being the \* *Benjamin* of Parties, (and his *Mess* I assure you \* Gen. 43.44. is none of the least) taxeth me for too much fieriness, as the *Animadvertor* (in his Expression lately cited) chargeth me for too much Favour unto them.

*Thomas Lord Coventry*, when coming from the *Chancery* to sit down at *Dinner*, was wont to say, *Surely, to day I have dealt equally, for I have displeased both sides.* I hope that I have his *Happiness*, for I am sure I have his *Unhappiness*, that having disoblged all Parties, I have written the very Truth. Thus I can onely privately comfort my self in my owne Innocence, and hope that when my Head is laid low, what seems *too sweet, too bitter, too salt, too fresh* to the present divided Age, will be adjudged *well tasted and seasoned* to the Palate of *Unpartial Posterity.*

### CHAP. XIII.

*What Good the Animadvertor might, but would not doe; and, what Good, by Gods goodness he Herein hath done unto the Author.*

WHEN the *Animadvertor* had perused my *Book*, marking some (but making moe) faults therein, it was in his Power to have done me a Pleasure, the greatest he could give, or I receive, *viz.* not to *paradigmatize* me, but by Letter in an amicable way to impart my Mistakes unto me, that I might amend them in my next *Edition.* Say not, He owed me no such thing, who would have beheld it not as a *Debt* paid unto, but *Alms* bestowed upon me.

I was not wholly without hope hereof, having found such favour from some worthy Friends. Had the *Animadvertor* done the like, How had he obliged me? As the Society of *Peter-house* do preserve the Pictures of their Benefactors in their Parlour, so would I have erected unto him a Monument of Gratitude in my Heart, besides my publick acknowledgement of the courtesie.

But it seems He intended not my Information, but Defamation. However, he hath done to me a great good turn, for which (because not intended) I will thank God, *viz.* He by his causeless Carping hath allayed in me the delight in Writing of *Histories*; seeing nothing can be so unpartially and inoffensively written, but some will carp thereat.

Mothers minding to wean their Children, use to put Soot, Wormwood or Mustard on the Nibbles of their Breasts. God foresaw I might Suck to a Surfet in Writing *Histories*, which hath been a Thief in the Lamp of my Life, wasting much Oyle thereof. My Head and Hand had robb'd my Heart in such delightful Studdies. Wherefore he raised the bitter Pen of the *Animadvertor* to wean me from such Digressions from my Vocation.

I now experimentally find the Truth of \* *Solomon's* words, *Of making many Books there is no End.* Not, but that all perfect Books (I mean perfect in sheets, otherwise none save Scripture perfect) have *Finis* in the Close thereof; or that any Author is so irrational, but He propounds an End to himself before he begins it; but that in *making of many Books there is no end*; that is, the Writers of them seldome or never do attain that End which they propound to themselves, especially if *Squinting at sinister Ends*, as who is not *flesh and blood*? Such as project wealth to themselves, are commonly by unwise managing, or casual miscarriage, impaired thereby



thereby in their Estates. Others who designed to themselves, (with the builders of Babel) to get them a Name, commonly meet with shame and disgrace. Or else, when their Books are ended, yet they are not ended, because though never so cautiously written, some Antagonists will take up the Bucklers against them, so that they must begin again after they have ended, (or sink in their credits) to write in their own vindication, which is my case, enough to take off my edge, formerly too keen in making multiplicity of Books.

I confess, I have yet one History ready for the Press, which I hope will be for Gods Glory and Honour of our Nation. This new-built Ship is now on the Stocks, ready to be lanced; and being a Vessel of great Burden, God send me some good Adventurers to bear part of the Expence. This done, I will never meddle more with making any Books of this Nature. It is a provident way, before Writing leave us, to leave off Writing; and the rather, because Scribbling is the Frequentative thereof.

If therefore my Petitioning and Optative Amen, shall meet with Gods Commissioning and Imperative Amen, I will hereafter totally attend the Concernments of my Calling, and what directly and immediately shall tend to the advance of Devotion in my Self and in Others, as preparatory to my Dissolution out of this state of Mortality.

#### CHAP. XIV.

*That the Author is unjustly charged by the Animadvertor for being agreeable to the Times; And how far forth such Agreeableness is consistent with Christian Prudence.*

\*Page 268.  
towards the  
bottom there-  
of

THE Animadvertor is pleased to Charge me to be a great Temporizer, and agreeable to the Times. In Order to my Defence herein, let me premise this Distinction; that there is a Sinful and Sinless Agreeableness with the Times, be they never so bad.

It is a Sinful Agreeableness, when People for their private profit, or safety, or both, are resolved in Belief and Life; Faith, and Fact; Doctrine and Manners, to be the same with the Times; how contrary soever they be unto the Will and Word of God. Be it BIBLE, or THALMUD, or ALCORAN, or MASSE-BOOK, or COMMON-PRAYER-BOOK, or DIRECTORY; any, many, all, or no Manner of Gods publick Service; to them, all is alike, and equally imbraced.

But there is also a Sinless, yea lawful and necessary agreeableness to the Times, inasmuch that no meaner Father than St. Ambrose, or worse Critick than Erasmus, read the Text ROMANS 12. 11. *Δεχόμενοι τὸ καὶρὸν*, Serving the Time. A Reading countenanced by the Context, Rejoicing in Hope, patient in Tribulation, continuing in Prayer; all being Directions of our demeanour in dangerous times. And even those who dislike the Reading as false, defend the Doctrine as true; that though we must not be Slaves and Vassals, we may be Servants to the Times, so far forth as not to Dis-serve God thereby.

This Sinless and lawful Agreeableness with the Times, is partly Passive, partly Active. Passive chiefly consisteth in Bearing and Forbearing: Bearing, in paying all Pecuniary burdens imposed; it being but equal (in my opinion) there to return Tribute where we receive Protection. I doubt not but in this point even the Animadvertor himself is agreeable to the Times, going along with the rest of his Neighbours in their paying of all publick Taxes.

Forbearing expresseth it self, first in Silence. The Spanish Proverb, true at all, is necessary in dangerous Times, Where the mouth is shut no Fly doth enter: Yea, the Spirit of God giveth his Servants this counsel, \* Therefore the prudent shall keep silence in that Time, for it is an evil Time. Thus, Holding of ones peace, that is, using

\* Amos 5. 13.



using no *Provoking Language* against the *Present Power*, procureth *Holding of ones Peace*, that is, retaining and possessing of one's *Safety* and *Quiet*.

Secondly, *Forbearing* consisteth in *Refraining* (though not without secret sorrow) from some *Laudable Act* which he heartily desireth, but dares not doe, as visibly destructive to his *Person* and *Estate*, being prohibited by the *Predominant Powers*: In such a Case a man may, to use the \* *Apostle's* phrase, *ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεστώσας ἀνάγκης* 1 Cor. 7. 26. for the *present necessity*, omit many things *Pleasing* to, but not *Commanded* by that God, who preferreth *Mercy* before *Sacrifice*.

For instance; If any *Earthly Prince* or *Power* should enjoin a *Christian* (as *Darius* did \* *Daniel*) not to pray to God for the space of *Thirty dayes together*; his *Command* is not to be obeyed, as contrary to Gods positive Precept, \* *Pray continually*. But if he should onely enjoin him to forbear such a *Form of Prayer*, allowing him liberty to use any other, I conceive that such an omission, *Lawful*; dictated unto him by the *Principles of Prudence*, for his self-*Preservation*.

The *Active Part* of *Lawful Agrecableness* with the times, is in doing what they enjoin, as being *Indifferent*; and sometimes so good, that our own *Conscience* doth or should enjoin the same. In such a case, where there is a *Concurrence* of Both together, it is neither *Disbonesty*, nor *Indiscretion*, for one in himself to conceal his own *Inclinations*, and publickly to put his *Actions* (as *Fasting*, *Thanksgiving*, *Preaching*, &c.) on the Account of *Conformity to the Times*; it being (as *flattery* to court, so no less) folly to contemne and reject the favour of the Times, when it may be had without the least violation, yet possibly with an *Improvement* of our own *Conscience*.

I have Endeavour'd to steer my *Carriage* by the *Compass* aforesaid; and my main Motive thereunto was, that I might enjoy the Benefit of my *Ministry*, the bare using whereof, is the greatest *Advancement* I am capable of in this *Life*. I know all Stars, are not of the same *Bigness* and *Brightness*; some shine, some only *winkle*; and allowing my Self of the latter Size and Sort, I would not willingly put out my own (though dimme) light in total *Darkness*, nor would bury my *half-Talent*, hoping by putting it forth to gain an other *half-Talent* thereby to the *Glory of God*, and the good of others.

But it will be *Objected* against me, that it is suspicious (at the least) that I have *Bribed the Times*, with some *base Compliance* with them, because they have reflected so favourably upon me. Otherwise, how cometh it to pass, that my *fleece*, like *Gideons*, is *dry*, when the rest of my *Brethren* of the same party, are *wet* with their own *Tears*; I being permitted *Preaching*, and *peaceable Enjoying* of a *Parsonage*.

I answer first, I impute this *Peaceableness* I enjoy, to Gods undeserved *Goodness* on my *Unworthiness*. He hath not dealt thus with all my *Brethren*, above me in all respects. God maketh People sometimes, *potius reperire quam invenire Gratiam*, to find the Favours they sought not for. If I am one of them, whom God \* hath made to be pitied of those who carried me away captive, I hope, I shall be thankful unto Him; and Others, I hope, will not be *Envious* at me for so great a *Mercy*. Psalm. 106. 46.

Next to the *Fountain of Gods Goodness*, I ascribe my *Liberty of Preaching*, to the *Favour of some Great Friends*. God hath raised up for me. It was not a *Childish* answer, though the answer of a Child to his Father taxing him for being Proud of his *New Coat*, I am glad (said he,) but not proud of it. Give me leave to be glad, and joyful in my self, for my *Good Friends*; and to desire, and endeavour their Continuance and increate. A *Friend in the Court* hath always been accounted as *Good as a Penny*, in the *Council*; as a *Pound*, in the *Purse*. Nor will any rational man *Condemn* me, for making my *Addresses* to, and improvement of them, seeing the *Animadversor* himself (as I am informed) hath his *Friend* in the *Council*; and it is not long since, he had *Occasion* to make use of his *Favour*.

I must not forget the *Articles of Exeter*, whereof I had the Benefit, living, and waiting there on the *Kings Daughter* at the *Rendition* thereof. *Articles*, which

both as *Penned*, and *Performed* were the best in *England*, thanks to their *Wisdom*, who so *Warily made*; and *Honesty*, who so *well observed* them. Nor was it (though last named) least causal of my *Quiet*, that (Happy Criticism to my self as I may call it) I never was *formally sequestred*, but *went*, before *driven* away from my *Living*, which took of the *Edge* off the *Ordinance* against me, that the *Waight* thereof fell but *sentingly* upon me. Thus when God will fasten a favour on any Person, (though never so unworthy) he ordereth the *Concurrences* of all things *contributive* thereunto.

All I will add is this, that hitherto (and I hope, Who hath, will keep me I speak it in the presence of God) I have not by my *Pen*, or *Practice* to my knowledge done any thing *Unworthily* to the betraying of the Interest of the Church of *England*; and if it can be proved, Let my *Mother-Church* not *only spit in my face* (the expression it seems of \* Parents amongst the *Jews* when they were offended with their Children for some misdemeanor) but also *spew me out of her mouth*. Some will say, such a *Vaunt* favoureth of a *Pharisaical Pride*. I utterly deny it. For even the *Publican* after he came from his Confession he had made in the *Temple* \* *God be merciful to me a Sinner*, had he met one in the outward Court, accusing and taxing him with such particular Sins, whereof he was guiltless, would no doubt have replied in his own just defence. And seeing I am on my *Purgation*, in what the Schools term *Justitia Causa* (though not *Persona*) I cannot say less, (as I will no more) in my *Justification*.

Thus have I represented the *Reader* with the *True Complexion* of my *Cause*, and though I have not painted the *face* thereof with *false Colours*, I hope I have washed from it the *foul Aspersions* of *Temporizing* or *sinful Agreeableness* with the *Times*, which the *Animadverſor* causlessly casts upon it.

So much for my *Outward Carriage* in reference to the *Times*; Mean time what the *Thoughts* of my *Heart* have been thereof, I am not bound to make a Discovery to my Own Danger. Sure I am, such who are \* *Peaceable* and *Faithful in Israel*, may nevertheless be \* *Mourners in Zion*, and greive at what they cannot mend, but must endure. This also I know that, That *Spoak* in the *Wheel* which *Creekeſh moſt*, doth not bear the *Greatest burden* in the *Cart*. The *Greatest complainers* are not alwayes the *Greatest Sufferers*, whilst as much yea more sincere sorrow may be managed in *Secret Silence*, than with *Querulous*, and *Clamorous Obſtreporeuſneſs*; and ſuch, who will neither *print* nor *preach Satyrs* on the *Times*, may make *Elegies* on them in their own *Soules*.

Dr.



## Dr. Heilyn's TITLE-PAGE.

*Examen Historicum:*

OR

## A DISCOVERY and EXAMINATION

OF THE

Mistakes, Falsities, and Defects in some *Modern History*.

Part. I.

CONTAINING

Necessary ANIMADVERSIONS

ON

*The Church-History of BRITAIN:*

AND

*The History of CAMBRIDGE,*

Publish'd by Thomas Fuller :

For Vindication of the Truth, the Church, and the Injured Clergy.

2 CORINTH. 13. 8.

*Non possumus aliquid adversus veritatem: sed pro veritate.*

Minut. Fœl. in Octavio.

*Et Veritas quidem obvia est, sed requirentibus.*

Fuller.



He *Challenge*, is no part of the *Combate*; nor the *Mountebanks Bill* of the *Cure*. It is answer enough to a *Title-page*, to return, *It is but a Title-page*. Whereas the Doctor intituleth his Notes on my Books *Animadversions*, know, *Animadvertere* in Latine signifieth, to mark, and observe; but rather, by the way of reproof, than approbation. And in a Secondary Sense, it importeth to correct, chastise, and severely to punish a [reputed] Malefactor, as the Doctor in a Judicatory, of his own Erecting, (without any Commission for the same,) hath herein passed many most heavy Censures on Me, before He heard what I could say in my own just defence.

D 2

Whereas

Whereas the *Animadverſor* proceedeth, as followeth,

## ANIMADVERSIONS

ON

*The Church-History of BRITAIN :*

AND

*The History of CAMBRIDGE,*

Publish'd by *Thomas Fuller :*

For Vindication of the Truth, the Church, and the Injured Clergy.

He hath done me more——right, than he was aware of, or was willing to do : for thoſe indeed were the *three principal Motives* of my weak Endeavours in my Church-Hiſtory. However, becauſe he intended thoſe words to relate not to my *Hiſtory*, but his own *Animadverſions* thereon, let the *Reader Judge*, to which of our *two Works* they bear the beſt and moſt proper reference.

The words of *St. Paul 2. Cor. 13. 8. Non poſſumus aliquid adverſus veritatem ſed pro veritate, We can do nothing againſt the Truth but for the Truth*; well fitted the mouth of the Apoſtle, divinely inſpired in his writings, only to be a *Champion* for the *Truth*. In one ſenſe I allow them alſo applicable to the *Animadverſor*, according to the received Rule *Illud poſſumus, quod jure poſſumus, We can do that which we can lawfully do*——. But otherwiſe, I humbly conceive that *St. Paul could not*, and the *Animadverſor ſhould not*, do any thing againſt the *Truth*.

All that I will add is this, that although the Doctor be pleaſed to call his notes *Necessary Animadverſions*, (who can blame the loving Father for giving his own dear Babe a good name) yet upon ſerious examination it will appear that *ſome* of theſe *Animadverſions*, ought to have been omitted, for the promoting of *Piety*; and *many* of them might have been omitted, without any prejudice to the *Truth*: as in due time and place, God willing, ſhall be obſerved.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

### A General PREFACE TO THE WHOLE.

It is affirmed of *Hiſtory* by the famous Orator, that it is *Teſtis Temporum*, the Witneſs and Record of Time, by which the *Actions* of it are tranſmitted from one Age to another. And therefore it concerns all thoſe who apply themſelves to the writing of *Hiſtories* to take ſpeciall care, that all things be laid down exactly, faithfully, and without Deviation from the *Truth* in the leaſt particular; For if the Witneſſes be ſuborned, the Record falſified, or the *Evidence* wreſted, neither poſterity can Judge rightly of the *Actions* of this preſent time; or this time, give a certain Judgement of the *Ages paſt*.

*Fuller.*

Although Mr. *Sanderſon* is equally concerned with my Self in this *Generall Preface*, yet becauſe I am beheld as the *principal malefactor*, I have here preſented it intire. I look on it thus far as but the flouriſh or *illuſtrating* of a Text and *Initial-Letter*, ſignifying nothing in it ſelf: and therefore let him proceed, to ſomething more materiall.

*Dr.*



Dr. Heylyn.

It is therefore a good direction which *Josephus* the Historian gives us, and which he followed as it seems in his *Jewish Antiquities*, not only to be careful that the Style be pleasing, but that the whole work be framed by the level and line of Truth, *Nam qui Historiam & rerum propter Antiquitatem obscurarum expositionem, &c.* They (saith he) who make profession to write 'Histories, and to recite such things as are obscured by Antiquitie, ought not 'only studiously to conform their stile, but also to beautifie the same with 'ornaments of Eloquence, to the intent the Reader may converse in their Writings with the more delectation. But above all things they must have an especial 'care so exactly to set down the truth, that they who know not how those things 'came to pass, may be the more duely and fitly informed.

Fuller.

I acknowledge that this is the Character of a Complete *Historian*, to which all in their Writings ought to aspire with their best endeavours; though I believe none ever attained to the height thereof.

But first I would fain know, (seeing these are *Necessary Animadversions*) what need there was of that long-Latine-Line (staved off at last with an *&c.*) seeing *Josephus* did write in Greek. And if the Doctor would have presented us with the Original, it should have been in Greek; if but with a Translation, it might only have been in English.

I behold *Josephus* as a worthy Historian, whose memory I deservedly honour; yet herein he might say with the Poet, *Monitis sum minor ipse meis*. He in his Practice fell far short of his Precepts, witness his inserting of this false passage, opposite to the very Letter of the Old Testament, speaking of *Jehojakim* King of Judah,

2 King. 24.9. And he did what was *Josephus Ant. Jud. lib. 10. cap. 9.*

evil in the sight of the Lord, according *O δὲ πῶς ἔχεν δὲ καὶ δίκαιος.*

to all that his Father had done.

*This man being merciful and just by his nature. &c.*

But because it is not my Work to accuse *Josephus* (whom I cannot praise and prize enough) but to defend my self against the Animadvertiser, let us proceed.

Dr. Heylyn.

There is another rule which he bound himself to, that is to say, *Neither to omit any thing through ignorance, nor to bury any thing in forgetfulness*: And all these cautions well observed make a perfect History.

Fuller.

Here is the *Elixir* indeed of Historical perfection. Let a *Glorified Saint* write such an History of the *Church-Triumphant*, that so there may be a just proportion betwixt the Author and his Subject, both being Perfect.

I have met with this *Distick* made by reverend \* *Bernard Gilpin*, upon such *Sectaries* as require exactness in our Church of England. \* in his Life  
Page, 103.

*Optant ut careat maculis Ecclesia cunctis;  
Præsens vita negat, vita futura dabit.*

Thus Englished by Bishop Carleton.

Men with our Church no blemish had at all;  
It cannot be so here, in Heaven it shall.

E

This

This is true both of our *Church*, and all *Church-Histories*; whereof none without faults, and they the best which have the fewest.

Dr. Heylyn.

But on the contrary, there are some who do spend themselves on the style and dresse, as if their business rather were to delight the ear then inform the judgement; Others so byassed by self-ends and private interesse, that they seem rather Advocates to plead for some growing party, then true Reporters of affairs as they be before them. Some who endeavouring to be copious, clap all together in a huddle which is offered to them, without relation to the Ornaments and Attire of Language; and others with like carelesness as unto themselves, but greater inconvenience as unto the Reader, examine not the truth and certainty of what they write, so they write somewhat which they think may inform the Reader. Betwixt these, Truth is oftentimes irrecoverably lost, the Reader led aside from the wayes of Verity into the crooked lanes of Error; and many times conducted to such dangerous *precipices* as may prove destructive to himself, and of ill consequence to all those which are guided by him. The Errors of the Understanding, in matters which may possibly be reduced to Practise, are far more mischievous then those which do consist in the niceties of Speculation, and advance no farther; which moved the Orator, not onely to honour *History* with the Attribute of *Testis Temporum*, but to style it also by the name of *Magistra Vitæ*.

Fuller.

I remember when the reverend Vice-master of *Trinity College* in *Cambridge* was told that one of the Scholars had abused him in an *Oration*. Did he (said he) name me? Did he name *Thomas Harrison*? And when it was returned, that he named him not; then said he, I do not believe that he meant me. Although it is very suspicious that I am the mark aimed at in this discourse; yet being not conscious of such faults to my self, and because I am not named by him, I will not understand my self intended, till he toucheth me with more personal particularities.

Dr. Heylyn.

These things considered as they ought, hath made me wonder many times at the unadvisedness of some late Writers in this kind, whose Histories are composed with so much partiality on the one Side, and so much inadvertency on the Other; that they stand more in need of a *Commentator* to expound the Truth, and lay it clear and open to the view of the Reader, than either the dark words of *Aristotle*, or any other obscure Piece of the ancient Writers. I speak of *Histories*, not *Libels*; of which last sort, I reckon *Weldon's* Pamphlet, called *The Court of King James*; and *Wilson's* most infamous *Pasquil* of the Reign of that King: in which it is not easie to judge, whether the Matter be more false, or the Style more reproachful in all parts thereof. Certain I am, we may affirm of them as *Cremutius Cordus* doth of the *Epistles* of *Antonius*, and the *Orations* of *Brutus*, *Falsa quidem in Augustum probra, sed multa cum acerbitate habent*; that is to say, that they contained not only false and disgraceful passages against the honour of *Augustus*, but were apparelled also in the habit of scurrilous language. With such as these I shall not meddle at the present, leaving their crimes unto the punishment not of an *Index*, but an *Ignis Expurgatorius*, as most proper for them.

Fuller.

I am not concerned at all in this Paragraph; Onely let me add this in the honour of the deceased *Robert Earl of Warwick*, who told me at *Beddington*, that



that when *Wilson's* Book in *Manuscript* was brought unto him, he expunged out of it more than an hundred *offensive* passages. *My Lord,* said I) *you have done well, and you had done better if you had put out one hundred more.*

Dr. Heylyn.

But as for those whom either the want of true intelligence or inadvertency in not weighing seriously what they were to do, or the too much indulgence to their own affections have made more capable of being bettered by correction, I have thought it more agreeable to the Rules of justice, to rectifie their mistakes, and reform their Errors, than absolutely to condemn and decry their Writings.

Fuller.

REFORMING of Errors is a specious and glorious Designe, especially when proportionable means are used in order thereunto. But of late the word REFORMATION is grown so *threadbare*, it hath no *nap* left it, thereunder to cover *foul acts* to attain a *fair end*. I much suspect the *Animadvector* will prove such a *Deforming-Reformer*, as our Age hath produced too many of them.

Dr. Heylyn.

At this time I have Two before me whom I conceive to stand in need of such Observations, by which the truth may be preserved, and the clear face of things presented to the Readers eye; the one of them an Authour of *Ecclesiastical*, the other of some *Civil Histories*.

Fuller.

I commend the valour of the *Animadvector*, to combat with *Two at once*; odds, on which *Hercules* himself durst not adventure. I also am to deal with two, the *Animadvector* and Dr. *Cosins*, but not as a *Challenger*, but in the notion of a poor *Defendant*; and if one be assaulted by *two hundred*, he may and must guard himself against them as well as he can.

Dr. Heylyn.

In both I find the Truth much injured, and in one the Church. The Errors of the one tend not to the subversion of any publick interesse, but, being Errors, may misguide the Reader in the way of his knowledge and discourse; and therefore I have rectified him with some Advertisements (not taking notice of such passages as have been made the subject of some *Observations* from another hand) that so he may be read with the greatest profit.

Fuller.

This is meant of Mr. *Sanderson*. I am not so divellishly minded as to desire all men might be equally faulty with my self, that so being involved with others in a joynt-Guiltiness of the same degree, I might on that account pretend to a *mock-Innocence*. If Mr. *Sanderson's* Pen be less peccant than mine, I congratulate his condition, and provide to answer to my owne Charge, which followeth.

Dr. Heylyn.

The other (besides Errors of this kind too many) hath intermingled his Discourse with some Positions of a dangerous nature; which being reduced into practise, as they easily may, not only overthrow the whole power of the Church,

as it stands constituted and established by the Laws of the Land, but lay a probable foundation for the like disturbances in the Civil State.

Fuller.

*Si satis sit accusasse, quis Innocens?* saith *Tertullian*. To this double *Indictment* I plead, *not guilty*, and put my self on the *Trial of God and Goodmen*, requesting the Reader's patience till the proofs on both sides be produced.

Dr. Heylyn.

And therefore I have fitted him with some *Animadversions* in the way of an *Antidote*, that so he may be read if possible without any danger.

Fuller.

Common custome hath oversway'd the word *Antidote* to signifie a *Defensative* against, or *expulsive* of, *Poyson*; However, the bare notation of the word advanceth no further than to import something *given against*: in which sense none of our Nation hath been so free of his *Antidotes* as the *Animadvector*; having *given them against* Mr. Calvin, *Archbishop Williams*, *Archbishop Usher*, Dr. Hackwell, Dr. Prideaux, Dr. Barnard, Mr. Le-strange, Mr. Sanderson, and my unworthy Self, no shame to follow in the *Reere* after such a *Van and Main-battel*.

Sure I am, his pretended *Antidote* on my *Book*, hath more of *Poyson* than *Cordial* therein, envenoming many plain and true passages, sound and solid sentences, with his false *Glosses*, forced *Inferences*, and pestilent *Applications*.

Dr. Heylyn.

I know well, how *Invidious* a Task I have underaken and that it will be charged upon me at the first apprehensions of it, that I have rather chosen to find fault with the writings of others, than to write any things of this kind, which may be subject to the like partialities, and mistakings. *Carpere vel noli nostra, vel ede tua*, might come in seasonably here, if I had not somewhat to alledge for my *Justification*; But when the *Reasons* which induced me to the first *Adventure* (mentioned in the *Introduction* following) be seriously considered, as they ought to be, I hope I shall be capable of excuse, if not of pardon.

Fuller.

The *Animadvector* hath here raised up (I assure you) a *Strong Spirit* against himself, and whether the *Spells*, here used by him, be able to conjure it down again, others must decide it; mean time, fight *Animadvector*, fight *Objection* of his own making, seeing I have neither Skill, nor Will, to interpose to part them.

Dr. Heylyn.

And for my venturing on the other, I shall say nothing more at the present, but that as well my love to Truth, as to do right unto the Author (whom I would willingly look on as a man well principled, and of no ill affections to Church or State) hath invited me to it.

Fuller.

Here my credit is more deeply wounded by the glance of a bullet, than if it were directly shot against me; For whereas he saith, that he would willingly look on Mr. Sanderson as a man well principled, and of no ill affections to Church,



or State, he concludes me by plain intimation disaffected to both; But I hope that those who are *cleer-sighted*, look on me under a better notion.

Dr. Heylyn.

Truth is the Mistris which I serve.

Fuller.

*Rough though I am, I have a Mistris too, and her the Self-same, with the Animadvertor s.* Be it referred to Her, to Judge betwixt us, which of us *hath, doth, or shall do* her the better Service; and let him be received, the other rejected.

Dr. Heylyn.

And I presume that none will be offended with me, because I tell them of their Errors in a *modest way*, and bear witness for them to that Truth, of which they do profess themselves such especiall lovers. In that great *Disputation* betwixt the *Esquires* of the Body of King \* *Darius*, whether the King, Women, or the Truth, were of greatest Power, the whole Assembly cried out in the behalfe of Truth, *Magna est veritas & pravalet*, that is to say, *Great is Truth, and mighty above all things.* \* E/dr. 4. 41.

Fuller.

I acknowledge this a *Canonical Truth*, though written in the Apocrypha. It will soon be seen, who will shout most at the Triumphs of Truth, I or the *Animadvertor*, corrivall with me to the same *Mistris*.

Dr. Heylyn.

So that in standing for the Truth, *without Consideration* of the *RECOMPENCE* of *REWARD*, I hope though I meet some Adversaries, I shall find more Friends.

Fuller.

Here he soareth so high a flight I cannot follow him; yea, I suspect, that in *reaching* so high a *Note* he hath *strained* (if not *broken*) his *voice*. What, no reflexion on a *Reward*? He might have had an Intuition at it, as the *Incongruement* though not the *Cause* of his pains; he might look at, *in, through, and beyond* the *Reward*, without the least mixture of any *Mercenar inesse*: Sure I am, that one of as much *Meekness*, as some are of *Moroseness*, even upright *Moses* himself, in his Service of the *Essential*, and *Increated Truth* (of higher consequence than the *Historical Truth* controverted betwixt us) had notwithstanding a \* *respect to the recompence of Reward.* \* Heb. 11. 26.

Dr. Heylyn.

If not (for I am at a reasonable pass for that) it shall be no small comfort to me, that the *weak Candle* of my *Study*es hath given light to others, whereby they may discern some *Historical Truths* even in the darkest mists of Error, which either *Partiality* or *Incogitance* hath cast before the eyes of many Readers.

Fuller.

The Reader in due time will Judge, whether his *Candle* hath by the *light*  
F thereof

thereof discovered more Truths; or by the *Smoke* thereof darkned more, or given more just offence by the unfavory *Snuff* thereof.

Dr. Heylyn.

Which said, I shall now add no more, but that having two Patients under cure of different tempers, it is not to be thought, that I should administer unto both the same kind of Physick, an ordinary purge being sufficient for the one, whereas the foul body of the other doth require a *Fluxing*; as some wounds may be healed with Balm, when others more corrupt and putrified do exact a *Lancing*.

Fuller.

Which said, I shall now add no more but that having two Adversaries, Dr. Heylyn, and Dr. Cofens to encounter, it is not to be thought, that I should proceed against both alike; Dr. Cofens hath merited much of the *Protestant Cause* in *France*, and thereby commands my Pen to pay the *Homage* of due reverence to the *Crown* of hisold *Age*, especially when found *in the way of Truth*. But I am not under any such Obligation of particular respect to Dr. Heylyn on the same account.

I could wish he had used a more cleanly *Metaphor*, and forborn the phrase of *Fluxing*. Such a cure appears not in *Hippocrates*, as being a modern *remedy*, for a modern *malady*. However, would I were but half so holy as he was, of whom it was said, *An evill disease\* say they* (and they did but say it) *cleaveth fast unto him*.

I will use no harsher *Metaphor* in relation of my answers to my two *Antagonists*, than only, That *men* may meddle with a *Mallow* with *naked hands*, but need to put on their *Hedging-gloves* when to deal with a *Thorn* or *Nettle*.

Onely here I shall presume to request the Reader, to take especial notice of those remarkable words of the Animadvector [ *tell them of their Errors in a MODEST WAY* ] and keep them against a *rainy-day*, I mean such a seasonable Time as we may make use thereof.

Dr. Heylyn.

But so it happeneth many times, that some men are more impatient of the Cure, then sensible of their Diseases; and that, in stead of giving thanks to the Physitian, for the great pains he took about them, they pay him with nothing but displeasures. Which being the worst that can befall me, I am armed against it.

Fuller.

But so it happeneth many times, that (as in this case) there may be *plus periculi à Medico quàm à Morbo*, More danger of the Physitian than of the Disease; A good belief and conceit of the Physitian, is more than half a Cure: and I confess I have none of the Animadvector, whom I behold but as an adventurous *Emperick*, having seen and marked his practise on other Patients, rather disgracing their Persons than amending their Errors: Give me a Physitian of my own *Election*, not of his *Intrusion*; especially when he usually wrappeth up his best *Receipts* in *Poysoned Papers*.

Dr. Heylyn.

If by the hazard of my Peace I shall procure this benefit to the present and succeeding times, that men may prove more careful of what they write, and  
not



not obtrude upon the Reader ( either through Ignorance, inadvertency, or somewhat worse ) such and so many falsities, mistakes, and errors, as have been lately put upon him in some modern Histories; It is that I aimed at, and having gained that point, I have gained my purpose.

Fuller.

But what if on the contrary ( which is more probable ) it commeth to pass, that some having commendable Inclinations, and proportionable Qualifications to write Histories, perceiving their Books, *Damnatos antequam natos, baned before born*, by the prejudice which this Animadvertor bears their Parents; who is ready as soon as their Books shall peep out of the Press, to assault them with causeless cavills: What I say if such persons on the tender resentment of the premises shall quit all their Intentions to write; the Animadvertor can little comfort himself, and others will less commend him, for this his over-activity, so destructive to the publick Good. But there are some, who when they can no longer bewitch with their *Beauty*, endeavour to doe it with their *Malice*, thereby to render themselves in any sort considerable; to be feared, when they are no more loved. All I will add is this, He who already having *one of his feet in the Grave*, will spurn his brother with the *other*; will find few to pity him, if *falling all along* for his pains.

Dr. Heylyn.

*Non Partis Studiis agimur, sed Sumpsimus Arma  
Consiliis Inimica tuis, Ignavia fallax.*

Peter Heylyn.

Fuller.

This *Distick*, whereof the *Animadvertor*, ( by the immediate subscription of his name thereunto may to some seem the *Author*, is frequently cited by Mr. *Selden*, and may thus be *Englished*,

We serve no *Sides*, nor *Parties* seek to please,  
But do despise, *Sloth*, thy *deceiving Ease*.

However I humbly conceive, that ( what faults soever I am guilty of ) the sin of *Sloth* cannot justly, especially in my Church-History, be laid to my charge.

1. All passages of *Church-concernment* from the Reign of *Henry* the third, untill King *Henry* the sixth, I got exactly written and attested out of the Records in the Tower.

2. The most material transactions in all Convocations since the Reformation till the time of Queen *Elizabeth* ( save that sometimes the Journals be very defective, which was no fault of mine, ) I transcribed out of the Registers of *Canterbury*.

3. I have by much labour procured many *Letters* and other Rarities ( which formerly never did see the light ) out of the Library of Sir *Thomas Cotton* and others.

4. The learned Mr. *Selden* ( on his own desire ) honoured my first four Centuries with reading, and returned them unto me some weeks after, without any considerable alterations.

5. The best Antiquaries of *England* ( amongst whom the Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*, it being not then my happiness to be known to the Learned and religious Sir *R. Twisden*, ) I consulted with; These now I forbear to name, lest I remove and derive the Animadvertors anger on them from my self, who am ( though not the most able ) the best prepared to endure his displeasure.

Give me leave to add, that a greater volume of general Church-Histories might

be made with less time, pains, and cost: for in the making thereof, I had *Straw* provided me to burn my *Brick*; I mean, could find what I needed, in printed Books. Whereas in this British Church-History, I must (as well as I could) provide my own *Straw*, and my pains have been scattered all over the Land, by riding, writing, going, sending, chiding, begging, praying, and sometimes paying too, to procure manuscript materials.

These particulars seriously considered, I hope it will appear, that the Animadvector unjustly chargeth *Sloth* on my account, and Tyrannically crieth out with *Pharoah*, \* *Ye are idle, Idle are you*. Yea I hope, I may alter the property of the Animadvertisers Distick, and turn his *Sword* into my *Shield* after this manner.

\* Exod. 5. 17.

*Non Partis Studiis agimur, sed sumptuosus arma  
Consiliis peramicatus, Industria Doctrinx.*

Thomas Fuller.

## An ANSWER

TO

Dr. Heylyn's Necessary INTRODUCTION &c.

Dr. Heylyn.

**I**ntending some short Animadversions on the *Church-History of Brittain*, for Vindication of the Truth, the Church, and the injured Clergy, I have thought good to prepare the way unto them by a plain, but *necessary Introduction*, touching the Quality and Nature of the Book which I have in hand.

Fuller.

Intending, God willing, to return a true, clear, and short Answer to the *Introduction*, I conceived it requisite to premise these few lines following.

The Animadvector like a Cunning *Market-man*, hath put his best *Corn* in the top of his *Sack* to invite *Chapmen* to buy it. His Preface hath a *Decoction* of his whole Book, which was advisedly done by him, hoping that those might read his *Preface* whom he suspected would never *peruse* his *Book*.

Reader, As I am loath, any thing in his Book should not be *once* Answered, so be not offended, if to avoid repetition, I am loath it should be *twice* answered. Each particular in the Preface will recur in the body of the Book, where (by Gods assistance) no emphatical word nor syllable shall pass without its respective reply.

Nor hath the Reader any cause to suspect, that by such shifting I intend any Evasion, by pleading in the *Preface*, that I will answer objections in the *Body of my Book*, and alledging in the *Body of my Book*, that I have answered them in the *Preface*. For I have to do with the Animadvector, so cunning and so exacting a Merchant, that it is impossible for one indebted unto him, to escape without full payment, by changing the place of his habitation.

However the Animadvector hath dealt severely (to say no worse) with me, who, to render me the more culpable, and my Book of the less credit, hath represented all my faults in a *Duplicating Glass*; And whereas the *Best of Beings*, *non bis judicat in id ipsum, doth not punish the same faults twice*; he hath twice taxed every supposed mistake in my History, once in his Preface, and again, in the *Body of his Book*.

Dr. Heylyn.

Concerning which, the Reader is to understand that in the Year 1642. Mr. Fuller published his Book called *The Holy State*; in the Preface whereof he lets us know, that



that he should count it freedom to serve two Apprentisships ( God spinning out the thick thread of his life so long ) in writing the Ecclesiastical History from Christs time to our daies. And so much time it seems he had spent upon it ( excepting some staits for recreation in the Holy Land ) before he had finishd and expos'd it to publick view; the Book not comming out untill the year 1655. whether agreeable to his promise and such a tedious expectation, we are now to see.

## Fuller.

My words are by the *Animadvertor* given in defectively, and ( as to me ) disadvantageously; this passage ( which ought to have been inserted ) immediately preceding my Promise.

*if I may be so happy as to see these gloomy dayes disclouded with the beams of Gods mercy.*

I appeal to the Conscience of the *Animadvertor* himself, whether in his Soul he conceiveth these days disclouded or no. Gloomy they were when I wrote those words, before any war rained in the Land; and since such bloody showers have ended, they continue pouring, gloomy, and dark unto this day.

My promise therefore being thus but Conditional, and the condition on which it was grounded not as yet performed, I have no need *Liberare fidem*, to free my Faith, which was never bound, though I had ever since utterly quitted all thoughts of writing any Church-History.

For, the first five years, during our actual Civill Wars, I had little list or leasure to write; fearing to be made an History, and shifting daily for my safety. All that time I could not live to study, who did onely study to live.

So soon as Gods goodness gave me a fixed habitation, I compos'd my Land of Canaan or Pisgah-Sight. This, though I confess it be no part of Church-Building, yet it is the clearing of the store or Foundation thereof, by presenting the performances of Christ and his Apostles in Palestine. I perceive the *Animadvertor* hath a months mind to give me a Jeere, for my falling into the Holy-Land, which I can bear the better, seeing ( by Gods goodness ) that my Book hath met with generall reception, likely to live when I am dead; so that friends of quality solcite me, to teach it the Latine-Language.

## Dr. Heylyn.

For first, the Reader might expect by the former passage, that he designed the *Generall History* of the Church, from the first preaching of Christ, and the calling of the twelve Apostles to the times we live in: whereas he hath restrained himself to the Church of Brittain, which he conceives to be so far from being founded in the time of Christ, that he is loth to give it the Antiquity of being the work of any of the Apostles, of any of the Seventy Disciples, or finally of any Apostolicall Spirit of those eldest times.

## Fuller.

*Charity begins, but doth not end, at home.* The same Method was embraced in my Church-History. It began with our own Domestick affairs, to confute that accusation, commonly charged on Englishmen, that they are very knowing in forrain parts, but ignorant in their own Country. I intended ( God willing ) to have proceeded to forrain Churches, but I am discouraged by the causticks caviling at what I have written already.

My Church-History beginneth ( for point of Time ) Indeterminately before the Birth of Christ, ( lapping in, or folding over part of Paganisme ) and presenteth the dolefull condition of the Britons, whilst yet unconverted, and grievous Idolaters,

*Determinately*, my History begins Anno Dom. 37. which is but four years after *Christs* Passion, and that is very early, I assure you: Christianity in this Island, being a *Timely riser*, to be *up so soon*, and *dressing it Self*, whilst as yet (and many years after) most Countreys were *fast asleep in Pagan Impiety*,

I deny not but that Apostolical men, were the first founders of Religion in our Land. But as for such Apostles, ( *St. Peter, St. Paul, &c.* ) who without probability of Truth, and against proportion of Time, are by some Authors obtruded on us, those I do reject, ( I hope, without the least fault ) rendring my reasons for the same.

Dr. Heylyn.

And secondly, Though he entitle it by the name of the *Church-History of Brittain*, yet he pursues not his Design agreeable to that Title neither: there being little said of the affairs of the Church of *Scotland*, which certainly makes up a considerable part of the Isle of *Brittain*; and less (if any thing at all) of the Church of *Ireland*, which anciently past in the account of a *Brittish-Island*.

Fuller.

I will render the Reader a true account, why I entituled my Book, The *Church-History of Brittain*.

First, the *Church-History of England* I might not call it, the *five first Centuries* therein belonging wholly to the *Brittains* before the Name and Notion of *England*, was ever heard of in any Author.

Secondly, The *Church-History of Great-Brittain*, I did not call it; for fear of bringing in *Scotland* within the Latitude thereof, a compass too large for my weak Endeavours.

Thirdly, The *Church-History of Brittain*, I did, and might call it, in a double respect, *tam à parte Majoris, quàm melioris*, both from the *bigger and better*, the *fairer and fruitfuller* part of *Brittain*, the Ecclesiastical affairs whereof were therein contained.

Yea the Animadvertor knows full well, that the South of this Island, by way of *Eminence* is so called: To give one Instance of many, from the Title-page, of a passage of State.

*Nobilissima disceptatio super Dignitate & magnitudine Regnorum Britannici  
Et Gallici, habita ab utriusque Oratoribus & Legatis, in Concilio  
Constantiensi; Lovanii, anno 1517. Typis excusa.*

The most noble Dispute, about the Dignity and greatness of the Kingdomes of *Brittain* and *France*, betwixt the Embassadors and Legates of both Sides, in the Councell of *Constance*; Anno 1517. printed at *Lovaine*.

Here the contest only was betwixt the Crowns of *England* [ here termed *Brittain* ] and *France*, *Scotland* not at all interesting it self therein.

It will not be long before the Animadvertor ( as, God willing, in due time shall be observed ) stickleth with *might and main*, that *Lucius* might properly style himself, and be styled *King of Brittain*, who had not an *half* of the *Southern-half* of this Island: and therefore, by his own Principles, it is no Solecisme in me, to name the *cis-Tweedan Moity* thereof, *Brittain*.

Had I given my native Countrey a narrow and restrictive name, I had deserved due reproof; but now, measuring the denomination thereof, with all honourable advantage, I humbly conceive my self not to fall under just reprehension for the same.

Dr.



Dr. Heylyn.

Nor is it, thirdly, a *Church-History* rightly and properly so called; but an aggregation of such and so many *Heterogeneous* bodies, that *Ecclesiastical* affairs make the least part of it. Abstracted from the dresse and trimming, and all those outward imbelishments which appear upon it, it hath a very fit resemblance to that *Lady of pleasure* of which *Martial* tells us, *Pars minima est ipsa puella sui*, that the woman was the least part of her self. The name of a *Church-Rhapsody* had been fitter for it, though to say truth (had it been answerable thereunto in point of learning) it might have past by the old Title of *Fuller's Miscellanies*. For such and so many are the impertinencies, as to matters of *Historicall* nature, more as to matters of the Church, that without them this great Volume had been brought to a narrower compass, if it had taken up any room at all. So that we may affirm of the present History, as one did of the Writings of *Chrysippus* an old Philosopher, viz. *Si quis tollat, è Chrysippi Libris quæ aliena sunt, facile illi vacua relinquerentur Pergamena*, that is to say, that if they were well purged of all such passages as were not pertinent to the business which he had in hand, there would be nothing left in them to fill up his Parchments.

Diog. Laert.  
in vita Chry-  
sippi.

Fuller.

The *Animadvertor* hath a free liberty to name His own *Books*; and I crave the same leave my self, to denominate My own.

Before he had fallen so fiercely on my extravagancies in the *Church-Historie*, he had done well to have defended *his own*, in his *Geographie*; sixteen parts of twenty therein being meere *Historicall*, and *aliene* from his Subject in the strictness thereof. Sure I am, *Ptolomey*, *Strabo*, *Pliny* &c. in their severall descriptions of the world, have nothing to countenance the excursions about the Pedegrees of Princes, not *reductive* to *Geographie* without the great favor of the *Reader* so to understand it.

But because *Recrimination* is no part of *Purgation*, I provide my self to answer to all which shall be objected for impertinencies.

Dr. Heylyn.

The first of this kind which I am to note, is a meer *extrinsecall* and outside unto those impertinencies which are coucht within; consisting of *Title-Pages*, *Dedicatory-Epistles*, and severall intermediate *Inscriptions* unto every Section. A new way, never travelled before by any, till he found it out; and such wherein he is not like to find many followers, though the way be opened. I know it is no *unusuall* thing for works of different Arguments, publisht at severall times, and dedicated to severall persons, to be drawn together into one Volume; and being so drawn together, to retain still those particular *Titles* and *Dedications* which at first they had. But I dare confidently say, that our Historian is the first, who writing a Book of the same Argument, not published by peece-meal, as it came from his hand, but in a full and intire Volume, hath filled his Sheets with so many *Title-leaves* and *Dedications*, as we have before us.

Fuller.

I answer first, Although it be unlawfull even for the owner himself *abuti re sua*, to abuse what is his own, because the *Publick* hath an interest therein; Yet, \* *Math. 5. 19.*

\* *Is it not lawfull for me to Do, what I will with my Own?*

Secondly, seeing the *Animadvertor* pretendeth in his notes to rectifie *Mistakes*, *Falsities*, and *Defects*, this cometh not under any of these notions. And whereas he writeth (as he saith) for the Vindication of the *Truth*, *Church*, and *injured-*

Clergy; by my dedicating of my Book to many Patrons, the Truth is not prejudiced, nor the Church wronged, nor any of the Clergy injured.

Thirdly, Of late some usefull and costly Books, when past their Parents power to bring them forth, have been delivered to the Publick, by the Midwifery of such Dedications.

Fourthly, Many (if not most) of my Patrons invited themselves purposely to encourage my endeavours; And why should any mans eye be evil, because theirs were good unto me.

Lastly, It is all one in effect, whether one printeth his Dedications to many Patrons, or whether one presenteth a printed History of St. George, to each English Knight of the Garter, with a written \* letter prefixed to every one of them: save that the former way is better, as which rendereth the Authors gratitude the more publick and conspicuous.

\* As to the Faults of *Leaves, Dedications, &c.* which I have seen under the hand of the Animad-vertor.

Dr. Heylyn.

For in this one Book, taking in the History of Cambridge, which is but an Appendix to it, there are no fewer than twelve particular Titles, besides the generall; as many particular Dedications; and no fewer then fifty eight or sixty of those By-Inscriptions, which are addrest to his particular Friends and Benefactors, which make it bigger by forty Sheets at the least, then it had been otherwise. Nay, so ambitious he is of increasing the Number of his Patrons, that having but four Leaves to come to the end of his History, he finds out a particular Benefactress to inscribe it to: Which brings to my minde the vanity of Vitellius in bestowing, and of Roscius Regulus for accepting the Consular Dignity, for that part of the day on which Cecinna, by Order and Decree of the Senate, was degraded from it: Of which the Historian gives this Note, that it was, *Magno cum irrisu accipientis tribuensisque*, a matter of no mean disport amongst the People for a long time after.

Fuller.

Ordinary Dedications exceed not a dozen lines, and therefore I believe the Animadvertor is much mistaken in his proportions.

If I did Dedicate four leaves to a distinct Patroness, no such fault therein; seeing, I am confident, those four leaves contain in them so remarkable an Accident, as the Animadvertor never read the like in four thousand leaves of any Historian.

Dr. Heylyn.

But of this Argument our Author heard so much at the late Act at Oxford, that I shall say no more of it at this present time.

Fuller.

I heard nothing thereof at Oxford, being then sixty miles distanced thence. Sure I am, I did not there *Malè audire* deservedly; and if undeservedly, *mala fama bene parva deletat*.

Secondly, I have heard since, that one in the Act, was bold to play on my own name and Church-History. But for the seventeen years I lived in Cambridge, I never heard any Prevaricator mention his Senior by name: We count such particularizing beneath an University.

Thirdly, I hope it will not be accounted Pride, but Prudence in me, to believe myself above such Trifles, who have written a Book to Eternity.

Fourthly, I regret not to be Anvile, for any ingenious Hammer to make pleasant musick on; but it seems my Traducer was not so happy.

Lastly,



Lastly, I remember a speech of Sir Walter Rawleighs, If any (saith he) speaketh against me to my face, my Tongue shall give him an Answer; but my back-side is good enough to return to him, who abuseth me behind my back.

Dr. Heylyn.

In the next ranck of Impertinencies, which are more *intrinseall*, part of the substance of the work, I account his *Heraldry*, *Blazons* of Arms, *Descents* of noble Families with their Atchivements intermingled as they come in his way; not pertinent, I am sure, to a *Church-Historian*, unless such persons had been Founders of *Episcopal Sees*, or *Religious-Houses*, or that the Arms so blazoned did belong to either.

Fuller.

I answer in generall, Those passages of *Heraldry* are put in for *variety* and *diversion*, to refresh the wearied Reader.

They are never used without *asking of leave* before, or craving pardon after the inserting thereof; and such *craving* is *having* a request in that kind with the Ingenious. Grant it ill manners in the Author not to ask, *it is ill nature* in the Reader not to grant so small a suit.

Mr. Camden in his description of *Oxfordshire*, hath a *prolix* (though not *sedious*) *poeme*, of the marriage of *Thame* and *Isis*, which he uhereth in with *Si placet, vel legas vel negligas, read or reject*, either *set by it*, or *set it by*; as the Reader is disposed.

The same, (though not expressed) is implied in all such Digressions, which may be said to be left *unprinted in Effect*, to such as like them not: their *Ploughs* may make *Balks* of such *deviations*, and proceed to more serious matter.

Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author tells us, *lib. 9. fol. 151.* that knowledge in the Laws of this Land, *is neither to be expected or required in one of his profession*; and yet, I trow, considering the great influence which the Laws have upon Church-matters, the knowledge of the Law cannot be so unnecessary in the way of a Clergy-man, as the study of *Heraldry*: But granting *Heraldry* to be an Ornament in all them that have it, yet is it no ingredient requisite to the composition of an *Ecclesiastical History*: The Copies of *Battle-Abbey Roll* fitter for *Stow* and *Hollinshead*, (where before we had them) can, in an History of the Church, pretend to no place at all, though possibly the names of some may be remembered, as their Foundations or Endowments of Churches give occasion for it. The Arms of *Knight-Errant*, billeted in the Isle of *Ely*, by the *Norman Conqueror*, is of like extravagancy. Such also is the Catalogue of those noble Adventurers, (with their Arms, Issue and Atchievements) who did accompany King *Richard* the first to the War of *Palestine*, which might have better serv'd as an Appendix to his History of the *Holy War*, then found a place in the main Body of an History of the *Church of England*: Which three alone, besides many *intercalations* of that kind, in most parts of the Book, make up eight sheets more, inserted onely for the ostentation of his skill in *Heraldry*, in which notwithstanding he hath fallen on as palpable Errors as he hath committed in his History:

Fuller.

Mr. Fox in his *Acts and Monuments* hath done the like, presenting the names of such who came over at the *Norman Conquest*. I have only made their *Catalogue* more complete. And seeing it was preserved in *Battle-Abbey*, the very addition of *Abbey* doth dye it with some *Ecclesiastical* tincture.

H

The

Clergy; by my dedicating of my Book to many Patrons, the Truth is not prejudiced, nor the Church wronged, nor any of the Clergy injured.

Thirdly, Of late some *usefull* and *costly* Books, when past their Parents power to bring them forth, have been delivered to the Publick, by the *Midwifery* of such Dedications.

Fourthly, Many (if not most) of my *Patrons* invited themselves purposely to encourage my endeavours; And why should any mans eye be evil, because theirs were good unto me.

Lastly, It is all one in effect, whether one printeth his Dedications to many *Patrons*, or whether one presenteth a printed *History of St. George*, to each *English Knight of the Garter*, with a written\* letter prefixed to every one of them: save that the former way is better, as which rendereth the Authors gratitude the more publick and conspicuous.

\* As to the  
Earls of Lin-  
coln, Dorset, &c.  
which I have  
been under  
the hand of  
the Animad-  
vertor.

Dr. Heylyn.

For in this one Book, taking in the *History of Cambridge*, which is but an Appendix to it, there are no fewer than twelve particular Titles, besides the generall; as many particular Dedications; and no fewer then fifty eight or sixty of those By-Inscriptions, which are addrest to his particular Friends and Benefactors, which make it bigger by forty Sheets at the least, then it had been otherwise. Nay, so ambitious he is of increasing the Number of his Patrons, that having but four Leaves to come to the end of his History, he finds out a particular *Benefactress* to inscribe it to: Which brings to my minde the vanity of *Vitellius* in bestowing, and of *Roscius Regulus* for accepting the Consular Dignity, for that part of the day on which *Cecinna*, by Order and Decree of the Senate, was degraded from it: Of which the Historian gives this Note, that it was, *Magno cum irrisu accipientis tribuentisque*, a matter of no mean disport amongst the People for a long time after.

Fuller.

Ordinary Dedications exceed not a dozen lines, and therefore I believe the *Animadvertor* is much mistaken in his proportions.

If I did Dedicate four leaves to a distinct *Patroness*, no such fault therein; seeing, I am confident, those four leaves contain in them so remarkable an Accident, as the *Animadvertor* never read the like in four thousand leaves of any *Historian*.

Dr. Heylyn.

But of this Argument our Author heard so much at the late Act at Oxford, that I shall say no more of it at this present time.

Fuller.

I heard nothing thereof at Oxford, being then sixty miles distanced thence. Sure I am, I did not there *Male audire* deservedly; and if undeservedly, *mala fama bene parva deletat*.

Secondly, I have heard since, that one in the Act, was bold to play on my own name and Church-History. But for the seventeen years I lived in Cambridge, I never heard any Prevaricator mention his Senior by name: We count such particularizing beneath an *University*.

Thirdly, I hope it will not be accounted *Pride*, but Prudence in me, to believe my self above such Trifles, who have written a *Book to Eternity*.

Fourthly, I regret not to be *Anvile*, for any ingenious *Hammer* to make pleasant musick on; but it seems my Traducer was not so happy.

Lastly,



Lastly, I remember a speech of Sir Walter Rawleighs, If any (saith he) speaketh against me to my face, my Tongue shall give him an Answer; but my back-side is good enough to return to him, who abuseth me behind my back.

Dr. Heylyn.

In the next ranck of Impertinencies, which are more *intrinsicall*, part of the substance of the work, I account his *Heraldry*, *Blazons* of Arms, *Descents* of noble Families with their *Atchivements* intermingled as they come in his way; not pertinent, I am sure, to a *Church-Historian*, unless such persons had been Founders of *Episcopal Sees*; or *Religious-Houses*, or that the Arms so *blazoned* did belong to either.

Fuller.

I answer in generall, Those passages of *Heraldry* are put in for *variety* and *diversion*, to refresh the wearied Reader.

They are never used without *asking of leave* before, or craving pardon after the inserting thereof; and such *craving* is *having* a request in that kind with the Ingenious. Grant it ill manners in the Author not to ask, it is ill nature in the Reader not to grant so small a suit.

Mr. Camden in his description of *Oxfordshire*, hath a *prolix* (though not *tedious*) *poeme*, of the marriage of *Thame* and *Isis*, which he uttereth in with *Si placet, vel legas vel negligas, read or reject*, either *set by it*, or *set it by*; as the Reader is disposed.

The same, (though not expressed) is implied in all such Digressions, which may be said to be left *unprinted in Effect*, to such as like them not: their *Ploughs* may make *Balks* of such *deviations*, and proceed to more serious matter.

Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author tells us, *lib. 9. fol. 151.* that knowledge in the Laws of this Land, is neither to be expected or required in one of his profession; and yet, I trow, considering the great influence which the Laws have upon Church-matters, the knowledge of the Law cannot be so unnecessary in the way of a Clergy-man, as the study of *Heraldry*: But granting *Heraldry* to be an Ornament in all them that have it, yet is it no ingredient requisite to the composition of an *Ecclesiastical History*: The *Copies of Battle-Abbey Roll* fitter for *Stow* and *Hollinshead*, (where before we had them) can, in an History of the Church, pretend to no place at all, though possibly the names of some may be remembred, as their Foundations or Endowments of Churches give occasion for it. The Arms of *Knight-Errant*, billeted in the Isle of *Ely*, by the *Norman Conqueror*, is of like extravagancy. Such also is the Catalogue of those noble Adventurers, (with their Arms, Issue and Atchievements) who did accompany King *Richard* the first to the War of *Palestine*, which might have better serv'd as an Appendix to his History of the *Holy War*, then found a place in the main Body of an History of the *Church of England*: Which three alone, besides many *intercalations* of that kind, in most parts of the Book, make up eight sheets more, inserted onely for the ostentation of his skill in *Heraldry*, in which notwithstanding he hath fallen on as palpable Errors as he hath committed in his History:

Fuller.

Mr. Fox in his *Acts and Monuments* hath done the like, presenting the names of such who came over at the *Norman Conquest*. I have only made their *Catalogue* more complete. And seeing it was preserved in *Battle-Abbey*, the very addition of *Abbey* doth dye it with some *Ecclesiastical* tincture.

H

The

The Arms of the Knights of *Ely*, might on a threefold title have escaped the *Animadverſor's* censure: Firſt, they was never before printed. Secondly, the Wall whereon they were depicted, is now demolished. Laſtly, each *Knight* being blended (or, as I may ſay, *empaled*) with a *Monk*, a *Moiety* of that Mixture may be conſtrued reducible to *Church-Hiſtory*.

As for the Arms of ſome ſignal perſons atchieved in the *HOLY-WAR*; If the Surname of *WAR* be *ſecular*, the Chriſtian name thereof, *HOLY*, is *Eccleſiaſtical*; and ſo rendred all actions therein within the latitude of *Church-Hiſtory*, to an ingenious Reader.

Dr. Heylyn.

For, beſides thoſe which are obſerved in the courſe of this work, I find two others of that kind in his Hiſtory of *Cambridge*, to be noted there.

For fol. 146. he telleth us, That *Alice Counteſs of Oxford* was Daughter and ſole Heir of *Gilbert Lord Samford*, which *Gilbert* was Hereditary Lord Chamberlain of *England*. But, by his leave, *Gilbert Lord Samford* was never the hereditary Chamberlain of the Realm of *England*, but only Chamberlain in Fee to the Queens of *England*; betwixt which Offices how vaſt a difference there is, let our Author judge.

Fuller.

I plead in my own defence (according to my laſt general Answer) that I have charged my Margin with my Author, Mr. Parker\* (Fellow of *Caius College* in *Cambridge*), one known for a moſt able Antiquary, but eſpecially in *Heraldry*; and I thought that he had lighten on ſome rare Evidence, out of the ordinary road: but, ſeeing he was miſtaken, I will amend it (God willing) in my next Edition.

\* In his Section  
on Cantab. M.  
Se.

Dr. Heylyn.

And ſecondly, The Honor of Lord Chamberlain of *England*, came not unto the Earls of *Oxford* by that Marriage, or by any other, but was inveſted in that Family, before they had attained the Title and Degree of Earls: Conferred by King *Henry* the firſt on *Aubrey de Vere*, a right puiſſant Perſon, and afterwards on *Aubrey de Vere* his Son, together with the Earldome of *Oxford*, by King *Henry* the ſecond; continuing Hereditary in that Houſe, till the death of *Robert Duke of Ireland*, the ninth Earl thereof, and then beſtowed for a time at the Kings diſcretion, and at laſt ſetled by King *Charls* in the Houſe of *Lindſey*.

Fuller.

This is nothing Confutatory of Me, who never affirmed that the *High-Chamberlainſhip* accrued to the Houſe of *Oxford* by any ſuch match.

Dr. Heylyn.

But becauſe being a *Cambridge Man*, he may be better ſkill'd in the Earls of that County, let us ſee what he ſaith of them; and we ſhall find, fol. 162. That *Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York*, was the eighth Earl of *Cambridge*.

Whereas firſt, *Richard Duke of York* was not Earl of *Cambridge*.

Fuller.

He was, he was, he was; as preſently (God willing) will appear, beyond all doubt and contradiction.

Dr. Heylyn.

And ſecondly, If he had been ſuch, he muſt have been the ſeventh Earl, and not the eighth: For thus thoſe Earls are marſhalled in our Catalogues of Honor, and  
Books



*Books of Heraldry, viz. 1. William de Meſchines. 2. John de Hainault. 3. William Marquess of Juliers. 4. Edmond of Langley, D. of York. 5. Edward D. of York. 6. Richard de Conisburgh, younger Brother of Edward. 7. James Marquess Hamilton, &c.*

Fuller.

Indeed they are thus reckoned up in a late *little* (and *useful*) Book, entitled, *The Help of History*, made (as I am credibly informed) by the *Animadverſor* himſelf, and therefore by him well ſtiled *OUR Catalogues of Honour*. But more exact *Heralds*, whom it concerns to be ſkilful in their own Profeſſion, do otherwiſe account them.

Dr. Heylyn.

No *Richard Duke of York* to be found amongſt them; his Father, *Richard of Konisburgh*, having loſt that Title by Attainder, which never was reſtored to *Richard* his Son (though moſt improvidently advanced to the Dukedom of *York*) nor unto any other of that Line and Family.

Fuller.

I admire at the *Animadverſor's* peremptorineſs in this point, when the no leſs learned (but more modeſt) Mr. *Camden*, ſpeaking of theſe *Earls* in the Deſcription of *Cambridgeſhire*, ſaith, that after the death of *Richard of Conisburgh*,  
*'The Title of the Earl of Cambridge, either wholly vaniſhed with him, or elſe  
 'lay hid amongſt the Titles of Richard his Son, who was reſtored Duke of York  
 'as Kinsman and Heir to his Uncle Edward Duke of York.*

What he warily ſaid *laid hid*, is found out by ſuch as ſince wrote on that Subject, Mr. *Brooke*, *York Herald*, and Mr. *Auguſtine Vincent* (in effect Mr. *Camden* reviſed;) who writing *Corrections* on *Brooke*, concurrerh with him in this particular. \* Pag. 94, 97.

*'for Richard of Conisburgh, Edward's Brother, was after created Earl of that  
 'place, [Cambridge] and after him another Richard, who was Richard of  
 'Conisburgh's Son.*

See Reader what an Adverſary I have gotten, who careth not to write againſt the moſt evident and avowed *Truths*, ſo be it, he may write ſomething againſt Me.

Dr. Heylyn.

4. Proceed we in the next place to Verſes, and old ends of Poetry, ſcattered and diſperſed in all parts of the Hiſtory, from one end to the other; for which he hath no precedent in any Hiſtorian, Greek or Latine, or any of the National Hiſtories of theſe latter times: The Hiſtories of *Herodotus*, *Xenophon*, *Thucydides* and *Plutarch*, amongſt the Greeks; of *Cæſar*, *Livy*, *Saluſt*, *Tacitus*, and *Suetonius*, amongſt the Latines; afford him neither warrant nor example for it: The like may be affirmed of *Eusebius*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Theodoret*, *Ruffin* and *Evagrius*, Church-Hiſtorians all; though they had all the beſt choice, and the moſt excellent Poets of the world to befriend them in it: And he that ſhall conſult the Hiſtorieſ of ſucceeding times, through all the Ages of the Church, to this preſent day, will find them all as barren of any encouragements in this kind, as the ancients were.

Fuller.

Never had *Herodotus* given his *Nine Books* the names of the *Nine Muſes*, if ſuch was his Abſtemiouſneſs from Poetry. Not one of them, which is *αισιμολογία* in this kind; and there are found in *Clio* the firſt, no fewer than thirty Verſes of the Oracles of *Pythia*. As thoſe his Books are fruitful, ſo his Book of the Life of *Homer* hath a ſuperſatiation of them, ſo that if *Proſe* be the *Warp*,  
 Verſe

*Verfes* are the *Woof* thereof. Whereas the *Animadverſor* inſtances in *Plutarch*, open at the life of *Theſeus*, and we are preſented with Poetry therein.

But grant no precedent in this nature in theſe Authors. A more free *Genius* acteth in *modern* than in *ancient* Hiſtorians, manumitted from the *Servilities* they were tied (or tied themſelves) unto. The *Animadverſor*, like another *Empſon*, endeavourerh to revive the Penal Statutes of Hiſtory againſt me, (ſo to ſubject me to fine for the breach thereof) which Time in effect hath cancelled.

*Qui Scribit Hiſtoricè, ſcribit miſerè*, if enſlaved to all *puntillo's* thereof. Let the *Animadverſor* keep thoſe *Steel-body's* for his own wearing, and not force them on me. What, not a *Plait* or a *Ruffe* more or leſs but all muſt be done in *Number*, *Waight*, and *Meaſure*! according to *Hiſtoricall criticifme*! This is not putting the *Book*, but the *Author himſelf*, into the *Preſs*.

*Tacitus* himſelf, (here inſtanced in) would be *Tacitus* indeed, if all *Politick Sentences* and *prudential reſults* were deleted in him, being *treſpaſſes* on the *precifenefs* of *Hiſtory*, confined to *matter of Fact*: But well-fare that *Hiſtorian*, who will go out of his own way, to direct his Reader.

We know *Pliny*, *Solinus*, &c. in their *Topographical* deſcription of *Countreys*, are barren of *verſes*. Let the *Animadverſor* on the ſame account therefore charge *Mr. Camden* for ſurcharging his *Britannia* with Poetry, having but three *verſe-leſs* Shires, *viz.* (*Dorſet*, *Bucks*, and *Weſtmerland*) in all *England*, and more than fourſcore *verſes* apiece, in the three ſeverall Counties of *Berks*, *Oxford*, and *Somerſet*.

Dr. Heylyn.

Nay, whereas *Bishop Godwin* in his *Annals*, gives us an *Epitaph* of two *Verſes* only made on *Queen Jane Seymour*, and afterwards a *Copy* of eighteen *verſes* on the *Martyrdome* of *Arch-Bishop Cranmer*; he uſers in the laſt with this ſhort *Apology*, *Contra morem Hiſtoria liceat quaſo inferere*, &c. Let me, (ſaith he, I beſeech you) inſert theſe following *verſes*, though otherwiſe againſt the *Rule* and *Laws* of *Hiſtory*.

Fuller.

What if that *worthy Prelate* was pleaſed to paſs a *Complement* on his *Reader*, it followeth not that they do want *Civility*, who have leſs *Courtiſhip* in this Point than he hath. Let us look on his *Catalogue of Biſhops*, which hath more vicinity with my Subject, and there we ſhall find (the Bulk of the *Book* conſidered) more *verſes* in proportion, than in my *Church-Hiſtory*, on the token that where I cite but *four*, he quoteth *fourteen*, out of *Martial*, to prove *Claudia Ruffina* a *Britan*, and a *Chriſtian*.

Dr. Heylyn.

But what alas were eighteen or twenty *verſes* compared with thoſe many hundred (ſix or ſeven hundred at the leaſt) which we find in our Author, whether to ſhew the univerſality of his reading in all kind of Writers, or his faculty in *Translating* (which when he meets with hard Copies, he knows how to ſpare) I ſhall not determine at the preſent.

Fuller.

If *pieces* of *verſes* be counted *whole ones*, which in this point is no *Charitable Synecdoche*, and if *Translations* be reckoned diſtinct *Verſes*, though it is hard that a *Man* and his *Shadow* ſhould be accounted two diſtinct perſons:

And if the *verſes* in the *Hiſtory* of *Cambridge* be adjected, though he who baniſheth *Poetry* out of an *Univerſity*, will find *Iambicks* enough to pay him for his pains:

And if the *verſes* in the *Hiſtory* of *Walſham-Abby* be caſt in, though who ſhall



shall hinder but I will describe my own Parish in *Prose* or *Poetry* as I think fit ; all put together will not amount to the number.

Besides many of my verses may be said to be *Prose in Effect*, as containing the *Religion* of that Age, and therefore alledged as *Evidence* thereof, before the *Norman Conquest* ; and no authority can in *Prose* be produced which doth so fully and clearly represent the same.

Other Verses are generally Epitaphs on some eminent *Church-men*, which could not well be omitted.

Dr. Heylyn.

Certain I am, that by the interlarding of his *Prose* with so many Verses, he makes his Book look rather like a *Church-Romance*, (our late *Romancers* being much given to such kind of mixtures) than a well-built *Ecclesiastical History*. And if it be a matter so inconvenient to put a *new peice of cloth on an old garment* ; the putting of so many *old patches on a new peice of cloth*, must be more unfashionable. Besides that, many of these old ends are so light and ludicrous, so little pertinent to the business which he has in hand, that they serve only to make sport for Children, ( *ut pueris placeas & Declamatio fias* ) and for nothing else.

Fuller.

Had the Animadvertor come with a good *stomach*, such *larding* had been no *bad Cookery*. Certain I am, that a *Comment* admitteth less latitude in this kind than a *Church-History*. Certain I am also, that a *Comment on the Creed*, is allowed less Liberty than *other Comments*. Now the Animadvertor hath bescattered his, every where with Verses, and Translations. It consisteth not with my Charity to miscall it a *Creed-Romance*, accounting it a sin so to decry or disparage his usefull endeavours. The best way to discover the deformity of my Fabrick, is for the Animadvertor to erect a more beautifull Building hard by it, that so his *rare and regular*, may shame my *rude peece of Architecture*.

What if, such mixtures make the Garment ( which also I utterly deny ) to be less in the *fashion* (the fondling of Fancy ;) I made it not for *Sight* but *Service*, that it might be *strong and warm* to the Wearers thereof.

I stand on my justification, that no such *light or ludicrous Verses* are to be found in my Book, which render it to just exception. But no wonder if the *Bel clinketh* even as the prejudic'd Hearer *thinketh thereof*.

Dr. Heylyn.

This leads me to the next impertinency, his raking into the Chancel of old *Papish Legends*, writ in the darker times of Superstition, but written with an honest zeal, and a good intention, as well to raise the Reader to the admiration of the person of whom they write, as to the emulation of his virtues: But being mixt with some *Monkish dotages*, the most learned and ingenious men in the Church of *Rome* have now laid them by; and it had been very well if our Author had done so to, but that there must be something of entertainment for the gentle Reader, and to inflame the reckoning which he pays not for.

Fuller.

I have not raked into the Kennel of old *Papish Legends*, who took the clearest water, in this kind, out of those *Rivers* which run, at this day, in highest Reputation with the Romanists. I never cited any *Legend* but either out of *Harpsfield*, who wrote in the last *Generation*, and was as *Ingenuous* as any of his Perswasions; or else out of *Hierom Porter* his *Flores Sanctorum*, who wrot some forty years, and in high esteem with the Papists at this day, as appears by the dear price thereof.

I confess I have instanced ( taking ten perchance out of ten thousand ) in the grossest of them, ( that is the fairest Monster, which is most Deformed ) partly to shew what a *Spirit of Delusion* acted in that Age, partly to raise our *Gratitude to God*, seeing such *Lying vanities*, are now ridiculous even to children.

I believe not the Animadvertor, when saying, that the most learned and Ingenious of *Rome* have laid them aside, seeing *Cornelius a lapide* weaveth them in, all along his

comments, and K. James did justly complain, that *Bellarmino* himself, did mar his pretty *Books of Devotion*, with such *Legendary mixtures*.

Dr. Heylyn.

But above all things, recommend me to his *Merry Tales*, and scraps of *Trencher-jests*, frequently interlaced in all parts of the History; which if abstracted from the rest, and put into a Book by themselves, might very well be serv'd up for a second course to the *Banquet of Fests*, a Supplement to the old Book, entituled, *Wits, Fits, and Fancies*; or an additional Century to the old *Hundred Merry Tales*, so long since extant. But standing as they do, they neither do become the gravity of a *Church-Historian*, nor are consistent with the nature of a sober argument.

Fuller.

The *Animadvertor* should have rendred me liable to just Reproof, by instancing in One of those *Tales* so inconsistent with the gravity of a *Church-Historian*: which no doubt he had done, but because he knew himself unable to produce it.

He, who is often seen to *snap hastily* at, and *feed hungerly* on an *hard crust*, will not be believed if bragging that he can eat *Pheasants* and *Partridges* at his Pleasure. And seeing the *Animadvertor*, doth commonly carp and cavil at the *filly shadows* of seeming mistakes, in my Book; it is utterly improbable he can, yet will not, charge me with a fault, which cannot be defended.

But let him at leasure produce the most *light* and *ludicrous* Story in all my Book, and here I stand ready to Parallel it with as *light*, (I say not in the *Animadvertor*,) but in as *Grave Authors* as ever put Pen to Paper.

Dr. Heylyn.

But as it seems, our Author came with the same thoughts to the writing of this present History, as Poets anciently address themselves to the writing of *Comedies*, of which thus my *Terence*.

*Poeta cum primum animum ad scribendum appulit.*

*Id sibi negotii credidit solum dari,*

*Populo ut placerent quas fecisset fabulas.*

That is to say,

Thus Poets, when their mind they first apply

In looser verse to frame a Comedy,

Think there is nothing more for them to do,

Then please the people, whom they speak unto.

Fuller.

I admire that the *Animadvertor*, who so lately had taxed me for writing and translating of Verses, will now do the same himself. There is a double *people-pleasing*. One fordid and servile, made of falshood and flattery, which I despise and detest. The other lawful, when men deliver and dress Truth in the most plausible expression. I have a precedent above Exception to warrant it, even *Solomon* himself, *Ecclesi. 12. 10.* The Preacher sought out *Acceptable words*. This I did, and will, aim at in all my writings, and I doubt not but that the *Animadvertor's* Stationer doth hope and desire, that he hath thus *pleased people* in his Book, for the advancing of the price, and quickning the Sale thereof.

Dr. Heylyn.

In the last place proceed we to the manifold excursions about the Antiquity of *Cambridge*, built on as weak Authority as the *Monkish Legends*, and so impertinent to



to the matter which he hath in hand, that the most Reverend *Mat. Parker* (though a *Cambridge* man) in his *Antiquitates Britannicae*, makes no business of it.

The more impertinent, in regard that at the fag-end of his Book there follows a distinct History of that University, to which all former passages might have been reduced.

But, as it seems, he was resolved to insert nothing in that History but what he had some probable ground for; leaving the *Legendary* part thereof to the *Church-Romance*, as most proper for it. And certainly he is wondrous wise in his generation.

For fearing lest he might be asked for those *Bulls* and *Chartularies* which frequently he relates unto in the former Books, he tells us in the History of *Cambridge*, fol 53. That they were burnt by some of the seditious *Townsmen* in the open Market place, Anno 1380. or thereabouts: So that for want of other ancient evidence, we must take his word; which whether those of *Cambridge* will depend upon, they can best resolve.

For my part I forbear all intermeddling in a controversie so clearly stated, and which hath lain so long asleep, till now awakened by our Author to beget new quarrels: Such passages in that History as come under any *Animadversion*, have been reduced unto the other, as occasion served, which the Reader may be pleased to take notice of as they come before him.

#### Fuller.

Because omitted by Arch-Bishop *Parker*, I have the more Cause and Reason to insert it: Otherwise, had he handled the Subject before, the *Animadvector* would have cryed out *Crambe*, that there was nothing novel therein.

Call it (I pray) the FRINGE of my Book, be it but for the Subjects sake, whereof it treats, my dear Mother, the University of *Cambridge*.

I live in the same generation with the *Animadvector*, and I hope shall acquit my self as *honest*, which truly is as wise as himself. *CHURCH-ROMANCE parcius ista.*

As I tell the Reader of the burning of those *Original Charters*, so in the same place I charge my Margin with my Author, [ *Dr. Caius* ] and thereby discharge my self.

Doth the *Animadvector* now forbear all intermeddling therein, in this Controversy? Why did he not forbear before, when setting forth his last *Geography* some five years since? And is it not as lawful for me to defend, as for him to oppose my Mother? When, where, and by whom, was this Controversie so clearly stated? Was it by the *Animadvector* himself? Such a Party is unfit for a Judge. Or, was it stated by the Parliament mentioned by him 1<sup>mo</sup>. *Jacobi*, when, as he telleth us, the Clerk was commanded to place *Oxford* first. But it plainly appears it was not then so clearly decided; but that the question was ever started again, in the late long Parliament, with Arguments on both Sides. Witness the printed Speech of Sir *Simonds D'EWES* on that occasion.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

All these extravagancies and impertinencies (which make up a fifth part of the whole Volume) being thus discharged, it is to be presum'd that nothing should remain but a meer Church History, as the Title promiseth. But let us not be too presumptuous on no better grounds.

#### Fuller.

The *Animadvector's* Words, mind me of a Memorable passage, which hereafter he hath in his *Animadversions* on my *Sixth Book*, or *History of Abbeys*.

The

*'The Intruder payeth to the Sequestred Minister but a NINETEENTH part in stead of a FIFTH.*

But if the *FIFTH-PART*, in relation to my Book, be here stated to the same proportion, for the *NINETEENTH*, yet will not the *Animadvertor's measure* be reconciled to the *Standard of Truth*.

Dr. Heylyn.

For on a *Melius inquirendum* into the whole course of the Book which we have before us, we shall find too little of the *Church*, and too much of the *State*, I mean too little of the *Ecclesiastical*, and too much of the *Civil History*: It might be reasonably expected, that in a History of the Church of *England*, we should have heard somewhat of the foundation and enlargement of Cathedral Churches, if not of the more eminent Monasteries and Religious Houses; and that we should have heard somewhat more of the succession of Bishops in their several and respective Sees, their personal Endowments, learned Writings, and other Acts of Piety, Magnificence, and publick Interests, especially when the times afforded any whose names in some of those respects deserv'd to be retain'd in everlasting remembrance.

Fuller.

I doubt not, but the Reader, who hath perused my *Church-History*, will bear me witness, that therein there is a *competent Representation* of all these particulars, so far forth as the Proportion of the Book will bear.

Dr. Heylyn.

It might have been expected also, that we should have found more frequent mention of the calling of National and Provincial Synods, with the result of their proceedings, and the great influence which they had on the *Civil State*, sparingly spoken of at the best, and totally discontinued in a manner, from the death of King *Henry* the fourth, until the Convocation of the year, 1552. of which no notice had been taken, but that he had a mind to question the Authority of the Book of Articles which came out that year, though publish'd as the issue and product of it, by the express Warrant and Command of King *Edward* the sixth.

Fuller.

All Councils before the Conquest, with their Canons are compleatly (and the most remarkable, after it) represented in my History. With what face can the *Animadvertor* say that I have discontinued the Acts of the Convocation till the year 1552? The Acts of one [critical] Convocation in the 27 of *Henry* the eighth, 1535. taking up no less than *eight sheets* in my Book, and another in the same Kings Reign employing more than a sheet.

Dr. Heylyn.

No mention of that memorable Convocation in the fourth and fifth years of *Philip* and *Mary*, in which the Clergy taking notice of an Act of Parliament then newly passed, by which the Subjects of the *Temporality*, having Lands to the yearly value of five pounds, and upwards, were charged with finding Horse and Armour, according to the proportion of their yearly Revenues and Possessions, did by their sole authority, as a Convocation, impose upon themselves and the rest of the Clergy of this Land, the finding of a like number of Horses, Armour, and other Necessaries for the War, according to their yearly income, proportion for proportion, and rate for rate, as by that Statute had been laid on the *Temporal* Subjects.

Fuller.

I am confident that this is the self-same Convocation which is thus entered in my *Church-History*, Book 8. p. 39. Anno 1557. quinto Maria.

The



'The Clergy gave the Queen a Subsidie of eight shillings in the pound (confirmed by Act of Parliament) to be paid in four years: In requital whereof, by Poole's procurement, the Queen Priviledged them from shewing their horses with the Laitie; yet so, that they should muster them up for the defence of the Land, under Captains of their own own chusing.

I cannot therefore be justly charged with no mention of the Acts of this Convocation.

Dr. Heylyn.

And this they did by their own sole Authority, as before was said, Ordering the same to be levied on all such as were refractory, by Sequestration, Deprivation, Suspension, Excommunication, Ecclesiastical Censures all; without relating to any subsequent confirmation by Act of Parliament, which they conceiv'd they had no need of.

Fuller.

I took the less notice of, and gave the less heed to the transactions of the Clergy therein, because then they were in their Hufie and Height, furious with Fire and Fagot, so that all done by them *de facto*, cannot be justified for Legal; who sometimes borrowed a point of Law (even with intent never to repay it) in their proceedings. It may be proved out of Mr. Fox, that some at that time (by a cruell Prolepsis) antedated the burning of some Martyrs, before the Writ de Haretico Comburendo came unto them. Wherefore all their actions in that time are not Precedential to warrant Posterity, and the Air of that Torrid Zone will not fit the Bodyes in our Temperate Climate.

Dr. Heylyn.

Nor find we any thing of the Convocations of Queen Elizabeths time, except that of the year 1562. (and that not fairly dealt with neither, as is elsewhere shewed) though there passed many Canons in the Convocation of the year 1571. and of the year 1585. and the year 1597. all Printed, and still publickly extant; besides the memorable Convocation of the year 1555. in which the Clergy gave the Queen a Benevolence of 2 s. in the pound, to be levied by Ecclesiastical Censures, without relating to any subsequent confirmation by Act of Parliament, as had accustomably been used in the Grant of Subsidies.

Fuller.

*Bernardus non vidit omnia*; I could not come to the knowledge of every particular. But I confesse I cannot conjecture the cause of the Animadvector's retrograde motion, who after so many years in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, goeth back again to the year 1555. Which was four years before she came to the Crown.

Dr. Heylyn.

It might have been expected also that we should have found in a Church-History of Britain, the several degrees and steps by which the Heterodoxies and Superstitions of the Church of Rome did creep in amongst us; and the degrees by which they were ejected and cast out again, and the whole Reformation settled upon the Doctrine of the Apostles, attended by the Rites and Ceremonies of the Primitive times.

Fuller.

I hope the peruser of my Book will be sensible of no defect, but that the same in a good degree is performed by me on several occasions.

Dr. Heylyn.

Dr. Heylyn.

As also that some honorable mention should be found of those gallant Defences which were made by Dr. Bancroft, Dr. Bilson, Dr. Bridges, Dr. Cosins, and divers others, against the violent Batteries and Assaults of the Puritan Faction in Queen Elizabeths time; and of the learned Writings of B. Buckeridge, B. Morton, Dr. Sutcliff, Dr. Burges, &c. in justification of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England, against the remnants of that scattered (and then broken) Faction in the time of King James; of which we have *Ne gry quidem*, not a word delivered: Nor could it stand with his design (which will discover it self in part in this *Introduction*, and shall more fully be discovered in the *Animadversions*) that it should be otherwise.

Fuller.

I answer: First, no Drag-net can be so comprehensive as to catch all *Fish* and *Fry* in the River; I mean, no Historian can descend to every particular.

Secondly, What if I left that *piece* in the *Dish*, for *manners* sake? I must not ingross all History to my self, but leave some to such as shall succeed me in the same Subject.

Thirdly, the Reader in perusing my Book will bear me witness that most of these have their true Encomiums on the same account; and especially Dr. Bancroft, Dr. Bilson, Dr. Cosins.

Fourthly, if my omission of his Book hath offended B. Morton, my asking will be having the pardon of so *vivacious* a *piety*; who being past the *age* of a *man*, now leads the life of an *Angel*.

Lastly, I have a Book of the Lives of all *English* Worthies, (God send it good success) which had been in print, if not obstructed by the intervening of this Contest; And, coming forth, will besuppletory of all such defects.

Dr. Heylyn.

All which together, make it cleer and evident that there is too little of the Church or Ecclesiastical History in our Authors Book: And that there is too much of the State or Civil History, will be easily seen, by that unnecessary intermixture of State-Concernments, not pertinent to the business which he hath in hand.

Fuller.

I answer first in general; Such the *sympathy* betwixt the embracing *Twins*, Church and State, that sometimes 'tis both painful and pity to part them. More particularly, such passages have at the least a *cast* or *eye* of Church-colour in them, or else they are inserted for necessity, *Ne detur vacuum*, for meer lack of Church-matter. All the Ecclesiastical History in Mr. Fox, during the Reiga of Edward the fourth, will not fill his hollow Pen, the cause why he makes it up with History of the State; and I sometimes do the like. Lastly, it is done for Variety, (and then, commonly, I crave the Readers leave) which I hope is no offence. Must I turn *School-boy* again, and the *Animadverior* be my *School-master*, to give me a *Theam*, that I must write on no other Subject, but what he appoints me?

Dr. Heylyn.

Of this sort to look no further, is the long Will and Testament of King Henry the eighth, with his Gloss or Comment on the same, taking up three whole sheets at least, in which there is not any thing which concerns Religion, or which relates unto the Church, or Church-affairs; although to have the better colour to bring it in, he tells us that he hath transcribed it, not onely for the rarity thereof, but because it contained many passages which might reflect much light upon Church-History.

Fuller.



Fuller.

I answer first, All ancient *Wills* have something of *Sacredness* in them, beginning *In the name of God Amen*. Secondly, they are proved in the *Court-Christian*, which evidenceth something of *Ecclesiasticalness* in them. Thirdly, *Kings* have ever been beheld as *mixt Persons*, wherein *Church* and *State*, are blended together. Fourthly, the *Will* of King *Henry* the eighth, in that *Active-juncture* of times, is more than the *Will* of an *ordinary King*. Fiftly, it is most remarkable even in *Church-History*, if only on this Account, to shew that he who had violated the *Testaments* of so many *Founders* and *Benefactors*, had hardly any *one Particular* of his *own Will* performed. Sixthly, it never was, and perchance (had I not done it) never had been *Printed*. Seventhly, false and imperfect Copies thereof pass about in Manuscript. Lastly, I have received so much *thanks* from the *Animadventor's* Betters for printing of it, that I will freely pardon and pass by his causeless cavil against me for the same.

Dr. Heylyn.

*Lib. 5. fol. 243.* Of this sort also is his description of the pomp and order of the Coronation of King *Charles*, which though he doth acknowledge not to be within *Pale and Park* of *Ecclesiastical History*, yet he resolves to bring it in; because it comes within the *Furlens* of it, as his own words are: But for this he hath a better reason than we are aware of, that is to say, *That if hereafter Divine Providence shall assign England another King, though the transactions herein be not wholly precedential, something of State may be chosen out gratefull for imitation.*

*Lib. 11. fol. 124.* As if the Pomp and order of a Coronation were not more punctually preserved in the *Heralds Office* who have the ordering of all things done without the Church, (and are eye-Witnesses of all which is done within) than in our Authors second-hand and imperfect Collections.

Fuller.

I answer first, a *Coronation* is *Church-work*, performed therein by an *Arch-bishop*, attended with prayers and a Sermon.

2. I never expected that a *Chaplain* to *K. Charles*, should find fault with any thing tending to the honour of his Lord; How can any good Disciple grudge at what is expended *ἐπὶ τῇ τιμῇ τοῦ κυρίου*, on the buriall of the Memory of his Master being the last in this kind.

3. My Collections, I mean *printed* by me, but observed by my most worthy Friend, are (abating onely the uncertain place of the Lord Maior) most critically exact.

Lastly, though the *Heralds Office* doth carefully preserve all such Ceremonies, yet cannot all persons living at great distance, and desiring information herein, have on all occasions so facill and convenient access to their *Office*, as to my Printed Book.

Dr. Heylyn.

The like may be said also of the quick and active Raigns of *Edward* the sixth, and *Queen Mary*, in which the whole Body of the reformed Religion was digested, settled, and destroyed; sufficient of it self to make a competent Volume, but contracted by our Author (like *Homer's Iliads*, in the *Nurshell*) into less than 25. sheets: And yet in that small Abstract we find many *Impertinences*, as to the work he hath in hand, that is to say, the great proficiency of King *Edward*, in his Grammar Learning, exemplified in three pieces of *Latine* of his making, when he was but eight or nine yerrs old.

K 2

Fuller.

Fuller.

Just reason of such *contraction* because of Mr. Fox his *dilatation* on the same: Where he found *my fault*, he (if so pleased) might have found *my defence*, viz. If Papists preserve the *Nails* and *Hairs* of their *supposed Saints*, give me leave to *Record* the first *Essays* of this *Pious Prince*, especially they being *unprinted rarities*, with which no *Divine* or *Schollar*, save the *Animadvertor* alone, would, or could have found any fault.

Dr. Heylyn.

The long Narrative of Sir *Edward Montague*, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, to vindicate himself from being a voluntary Agent in the business of the Lady *Fane Gray* needlessly inserted.

Fuller.

King *Edward* the sixth, his passing the *Crown* (over the heads of his two *Sisters*) to his Cousin the Lady *Fane*, is a piece of *Church-History*; because the *continuing of the Protestant Religion*, is all the plausible *Plea* for the same, and the fair *varnish* of so foul a *Ground-work*. This passage of Consequence is defectively delivered by our *Historians*, some *Circumstances* thereof being hitherto *lockt* from the world: Some have endeavoured to *force the lock* by their bold *Conjectures*. I am the first that have brought the true key and opened it, from Judge *Montague's* own hand, truly *Passive*, (though charged to be most *Active* therein) driven with the *Tempest* of Duke *Dudley's* anger, against the *Tide* of his own *Inclinations*. I prize a Dram of acceptance from the *Ingenuous Reader*, above a Pound of the *Animadvertor's* Cavilling; which is offended with my inserting of so authentic and informative a Manuscript.

Dr. Heylyn.

Needless the full and punctual relation of *Wyats Rebellion*, and the Issue of it, though acted upon some false grounds of *Civil Interests*, without relating to Religion or to *Church Affairs*: *Infinitum esset ire per singula, &c.*

Fuller.

This *Rebellion* was grounded on *Erronious Principles* of *Religion*, and therefore *Goodman* (*Il-man*) did in his Book of that Subject entitle it *GODS-CAUSE*; and, though foully mistaken therein, it is enough to reduce this *Design* to *Church-concernment*. Had I omitted it, the *Animadvertor* would have charged me with *Puritanical* (pardon the *Prolepsis*) *compliance*; so hard it is to please him, either full, or fasting.

Dr. Heylyn.

But well it were, if onely *Aberrations* from *Historicall truth* were to be met with in our Author: In whom we find such a continual vein of *Puritanism*, such dangerous grounds for *Inconformity* and *Sedition* to be raised upon, as easily may pervert the unwary Reader, whom the facetiousness of the style (like a Hook baited with a painted Fly) may be apt to work on. *Murdering of Kings* avowed for a necessary prudence, as oft as they shall fall into the power of their Subjects, *Lib. 4. fol. 109.*

Fuller.

The Page cited by him happily happeneth to be the *Initial One* of a *Section*, and hath no more therein then as followeth.

*Church-History*, Book 4. Page. 109.

Soon after his Death, K. Edward was much lamented by those of whom in his



his life time he was never beloved. Whether this proceeded from the meer mutability of mens minds, (weary to loiter long in the lazie posture of the same affection.) Or whether it proceeded from the Pride of Mortimer, whose insolence grew intolerable. Or whether, because his punishment was generally apprehended too heavy for his fault; so that Deposition without Death, or (at the worst) Death without such unhumane cruelty, had been sufficient.

One of our English-Poet-Historians acquainteth us with a passage which to my knowledge appeareth not in any other Author.

This all in that page.

Reader I request thee do Me, thy Self, and Truth right: Whether can my avowance of King-murdering be collected from any thing here written by me?

But because, some will say, the Quotation possibly may be mistaken: If any thing sounding to that sense, there, or elsewhere, be found in my Book, may the Ravens of the Valleys (whom I behold as loyall Subjects) in Vindication of the Eagle their Sovereign pick out my eyes, for delivering such rebellious Doctrine.

Dr. Heylyn.

The Coronation of Kings, (and consequently their succession to the Crown of England) made to depend upon the suffrage and consent of the People, Lib. 11. fol. 122.

The Sword extorted from the Supream Magistrate, and put into the hands of the common People, whensoever the Reforming humor shall grow strong amongst them, Lib. 9. fol. 51.

The Church depriv'd of her Authority in determining controversies of the Faith, and a dispute rais'd against that clause of the Article, (in which that Authority is declared) whether forg'd or not, Lib. 9. fol. 73.

Fuller.

*Stylus Equabilis!* Here is a continued Champian, large Levell, and fair Flat, of fourteen untruths at least, without any Elevation of Truth interposed. No such matter in that place, as hereafter shall appear.

False as the former as in due time and place (cited now, afterwards by him eagerly improved) will appear.

I am depraved unjustly, who never deprived the Church of her Authority. I raised no such Dispute, but would have quell'd it, if in my power. All which I refer to my Answer to these respective Quotations.

Dr. Heylyn.

Her power in making Canons every where prostituted to the lust of the Parliament, contrary both to Law and constant practise.

Fuller.

Every where, is No where. And seeing no particular place is instanced; to a General Charge, a General Deniall shall suffice. Let me add, that whereas the *Animadverſor* \* hereafter taxeth me for calling the two Houses, the Parliament; we therefore may presume that he (not running on the same rock) by Parliament meaneth the King, Lords, and Commons: which granted, how much of loyalty and Discretion there is in these his words prostituted to the LUST let others judge.

\*Vide, infra. part. 3. pag. 70.

Dr. Heylyn.

The Heterodoxies of Wickcliff Canoniz'd for Gospel, and Calvin's Opinions whatsoever they were, declar'd for Orthodox.

Fuller.

The *Animadverſor's* words are more than Apocrypha, even a very untruth.

L

Dr. Heylyn.

Dr. Heylyn.

The Sabbatarian Rigors, published for Divine and Ancient Truths; though there be no antiquity nor divinity in them.

The *Hierarchy* of Bishops so coldly pleaded for, as shewes he had a mind to betray the cause, &c.

Fuller.

Most false, as in due time and place shall abundantly appear.

*Weakly*, it may be, for lack of *Ability*, not *coldly* for want of *affection*: But rather than the Cause I so cordially wish well to, should miscarry by my *well-intended weakness*, hence-forward I will stand by, and resign my place at the *Bar*, to better Pleaders in its behalf.

Dr. Heylyn.

Whilst all things pass on smoothly for the *Presbyterians*, whom he chiefly acts for: And this is that which we must look for, *par my & par tout*, as the *Frenchmen* say. Nor deals he otherwise with the Persons which are brought before him, than he doth with the Causes which they bring. No profest *Puritan*, no cunning *Non-conformist*, or open *Separatist*, comes upon the Stage, whom he follows not with *Plaudite's* and some fair Commends.

Fuller.

He means Mr. Cartwright, Travers, Stone, Udal, Greenham, Hilderham, Dod, all, (though dissenting from the Church in Ceremonies) eminent in their Generations. I commend them not for their *Non-conformity*, but other qualities of Piety, Painfulness, Learning, Patience, &c. Doth not \*Mr. Camden give Babington (who suffered as a Traitor to Q. Eliz.) the commendation of Wealth, Wit, Learning, and Handsomness? Yea, doth not the holy Spirit praise Absalom for his *blameless Beauty*? and Achitophel for his oraculous wisdom? The worst of *moral men* may be commended for their Naturals, and the worst of Spiritual men for their *Morals*.

\* Anno 1586.

Dr. Heylyn.

When as the Fathers of the Church, and conformable Children of it, are sent off commonly in silence, and sometimes with censure.

Fuller.

The Reader by perusing my Book will find, I have *embalmed* their memories with my *best spices*.

Dr. Heylyn.

The late Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, so eminently deserving of the Church of *England*, must be raked out of his Grave, arraigned for many misdemeanors, of which none could accuse him when he was alive; all his infirmities and weaknesses mustered up together, make him hateful to the present and succeeding Ages; when Mr. Love's Treasonable practices and seditious Speeches, must needs (forsooth) be buried in the same Earth with him.

Fuller.

I have in this my *Appeal* collected twenty two commendations of the Arch-Bishop out of my *Church-History*, and had made them up forty, save that the *Press* prevented me: The best is, *what is lost in the Hundred, is found in the Shire*; I mean may be (though not in this my *Defence*) found in my *Book at large*.

Dr. Heylyn.



Dr. Heylyn.

The University of *Oxford* frequently quarrelled and exasperated, upon sleight occasions.

The late King's party, branded by the odious Title of *Malignants*, not better'd by some froth of pretended Wit in the Etymology.

Fuller.

When, and Where, being now left at large, without any direction to the place; I am more troubled what my *Offence* is, than what my *Defence* shall be. I am sure the *Animadverſor*, (as a dutifull Son to his Mother) will in due time and place discover it, and (unwilling to antedate my own molestation,) my answer is *deferred* (or rather *referred*) thereunto.

As for my using the term *Malignant*, in due time I shall make a satisfactory Answer.

Dr. Heylyn.

The regular Clergy shamefully reproached by the Name of *covetous Conformists*. *Lib. 9. fol. 98.*

Fuller.

Who would not think, but that (as the Charge standeth against me) I had branded all *Conformists* with the Note of *Covetous*, which had been an *Abominable Scandall* indeed. Whereas my words only relate to some particular persons: whom, if the *Animadverſor* will say, they were *Conformists*, (as indeed they were;) I dare ſwear, (if called thereunto) that they were *Covetous*, as who, by *Unreasonable Leaſes*, (as the Statute calleth them) waſted the Lands of the Church; till they were ſeaſonably retrenched by that wholeſom Law made the 13.<sup>th</sup> of *Q. Elizabeth*.

*Regular Clergy* they might be, (as the *Animadverſor* termeth them) in other things, but in this particular, *Regular*, only to the Rules of Avarice: making ſuch Leaſes againſt *Reason*, and common Equity, though, in the Rigor of the [then] Law, juſtifiable; I wonder that the *Animadverſor* will advocate for their Actions ſo detrimental to the Church.

Nor doth this daſh the leaſt diſgrace on *Conformity* it ſelf, they not doing it *quâ Conformists*. It was not their *Conformity* made them *Covetous*, (though perchance their *Covetouſneſſe* might make them conformable) but their own *Corruption*.

But if the Epithet of *Covetous* be ſo offensive, I will in my next Edition, to mend the Matter, change it into *Sacerilegious Conformity*, and juſtifie my Expreſſion, according to the Principle of the *Animadverſor's* own Judgement, becauſe they enriched themſelves with impaying the goods of the Church.

Dr. Heylyn.

And thoſe poor men who were ejectioned by this late long-Parliament, deſpitefully called *Baal's Priests*, *unſavory ſalt*, *not fit to be thrown upon the Dung-hill*; though he be doubtfull of the Proofs which were brought againſt them. *Lib. 11. fol. 207.*

Fuller.

I have, at large, defended my ſelf againſt this foul and falſe accuſation, when the place cited doth occur.

Dr. Heylyn.

So many of all ſorts wronged and injured him, that, ſhould they all ſtudy their perſonal and particular Revenges, he were not able to abide it: And therefore we may juſtly ſay, in the Poet's Language,

*Si de tot laeſis ſua Numina quiſque Deorum.*

*Vindictæ, in penas non ſatis unus erit.*

Which may be Engliſht in theſe words.

*Should all wrong'd parties ſeek t'avenge their fame,  
One man were not enough to bear the ſhame.*

Fuller.

If I ſtand endebted to ſo many for wronging of them, the faireſt way is for them jointly, to ſeize on what I have, that ſo my ſmall Eſtate may be ſhared amongſt them all, ſo far as it will go, and every one have his Proportion thereof: Whereas now the *Animadverſor* taking all ( and more then all ) his *Penny-worths* out of Me, he hath injuriouſly dealt with the reſt of the Creditors thereby. However, I hope to appear reſponſible, ( ſeeing *no debt is ſoon ſatisfied* ) and the *Animadverſor* himſelf in due time, will be found in my debt, if all accounts be equally audited betwixt us.

This I dare boldly ſay ( though I confeſs his faults excuſe not mine, if guilty ) that he hath wronged more, and Perſons of higher quality, in his late Books. Biſhop *James Montague*, a known eminent Scholler, vilified by an *odious* and *indiscreet* comparing him with another of his Sirname.

Judge *Hutton* and *Crook* ſcandalouſly abuſed by him for conſenting *privately* to the *SHIP-MONY*, who as well *privately* ( in the King's preſence ) as publicly oppoſed it, though they ſubſcribed their hands, in *Conformity* to the greater number: as the *Animadverſor* ( more knowing in Law, than my ſelf ) will acknowledge the common and conſtant cuſtome in ſuch caſes. I could inſtance in many more, it being no diſcretion to *play out* all I have at once, but to keep a *Reſerve* in my hand, in caſe, ( which God foreſend ) I ſhould be provoked to another Answer.

Dr. Heylyn.

But nothing does more evidently diſcover his unfaithfull dealing, then his report of the proceedings in the Iſle of *Wight*, between his Maſteſty, and the long-Parliament Divines; of which he tells us, *Lib. 11. fol. 235. That his Maſteſty, in the laſt Paper which he ſent them, acknowledged their great pains to inform his Judgement, according to their perſwaſions, and alſo took eſpecial notice of their Civilities of the Application both in the beginning and body of their Reply; and having cleer'd himſelf from ſome miſ-underſtanding about the Writ of Partition which they ſpeak of, puts an end to the buſineſſe.* The man who reads this paſſage, cannot chooſe but think that his Maſteſty, being vanquiſht by the Arguments of the *Presbyterians*, had given over the cauſe; and therefore, as convicted in his Conſcience, rendreth them thanks for the Inſtruction which he had received, and the Civilities they uſed towards him in the way thereof. But he that looks upon his Maſteſtie's laſt Paper, will find that he had Learnedly and Divinely reſel'd all their Arguments: And having ſo done, puts them in mind of three queſtions which are propoſ'd in his former Paper, acknowledged by themſelves, to be of great importance in the preſent controverſie; without an Answer whereunto, his Maſteſty declared that he would put an end to that conference: *It not being probable* ( as he told them ) *that they ſhould work much upon his Judgement, whiſt they are fearfull to declare their own, nor poſſible to relieve his conſcience, but by a free declaring of theirs.* But they not able, or not daring, ( for fear of diſpleaſing their great Maſters ) to return an Answer to thoſe Queſtions, his Maſteſty remain'd ſole Maſter of the field, a moſt abſolute Conquerour: For though the firſt blow commonly does begin the Quarrel, it is the laſt blow always that gets the Victory: But *Regium eſt cum benefeceris malè audire*: It hath been commonly the fortune of the greateſt Princes, when they deſerve beſt, to be worſt reported.

Fuller.



Fuller.

Here I will truly acquaint the Reader with the State of this Matter. The posting *Press*, which with the *Time* and *Tide* will stay for no man, mistaking my Copy compleat, and not attending my coming to *London*, that morning from *Waltham*, clapt it up imperfect. I must therefore deservedly take all the blame and shame thereof on my self, and here in this *Sheet* do publick-penance for the same, promising amendment to the full, God willing, in the next Edition.

Dr. Heylyn.

Nor deals he better with the Church, then he does with the King; concealing such things as might make for her justification, and advocating for such things as disturb her order. In the last Book we find him speaking of some *heats* which were rais'd in the Church, about placing the Communion-Table *Altar-wise*, and great fault found for the want of Moderation in those Men, who had the managing of that business. But he conceals his Majesties Determination in the Case of *St. Gregories*, *Novemb. 3. 1633*. By which all Bishops and other *Ordinaries*, were incouraged to proceed therein, and consequently those of inferior rank to defend their actings.

Fuller.

I have not full twenty Lines on the whole Subject, being loath to enlarge on so odious a difference, sopited in good measure: and as I durst not totally omit, so I pass'd it over, with all possible brevity.

Dr. Heylyn.

The Chappel of *Emanuel Colledge* in *Cambridge* is built North and South, contrary to the usage of the primitive times, and the Church of *England*, with which King *James* being made acquainted, he answered (as our Author tels us) *That it was no matter how the Chappel stood, so the heart stood aright*: Which Tale being told by him, and believed by others (*Et populum, qui sibi credit, habet*, *Ovid. in Ep. Hyfiphil.*) as he is like enough to find many Believers, farewell to all external Reverence in the Service of God: What need we trouble our selves or others with standing, kneeling, bowing in the acts of Worship; it is no matter in what posture the Body be, *so the Heart be right*.

Fuller.

The Speech of *K. James*, was no Tale but a Truth; when he did not exclude bodily reverence, but prefer *Soul-sincerity* in divine Service. Parallel unto those *Scripture-Instances*, *Psalms 51. 26. for thou desirest no Sacrifice*, that is, thou wouldest them not, comparatively to cordial Contrition. *1 Pet. 4. 3.* speaking of good women, whose *adorning* let it not be that outward of *playing the hair*, viz. not chiefly therein, to the neglecting of inward holiness. Nor is the Speech inductive of corporal Irreverence, if believed; seeing a Mans body may, and ought easily, quickly, and cheaply, be contrived; into standing, bowing, kneeling; when it requires time, and expence to take down, and re-build a Chappel, which would cost the Colledge five hundred Pounds at the least.

Dr. Heylyn.

What need we put our selves or others to the charge of Surplices and Hoods, of Gowns and Cassacks, in the officiating of Gods Service; It is no matter in what habit the Body be, *so the heart be right*. There is another Chappel in *Cambridge* which was never consecrated, (whether a Stable or a Dormitory, is all one to me.) At which time when some found themselves grieved, our Author tells them, *That others of no great Learning and Religion* (himself especially

cially for one) dare defend, that the continued Series of Divine Duties, publickly practised for more then thirty years (without the least check or controul of those in authority) in a place set apart to that purpose, doth sufficiently consecrate the same: Stables and Barns by this Argument, shall in some tract of time become as sacred as our Churches.

Fuller.

Had I lived in *Sidney Colledge*, when that *Dormitory* was first used for a *Chappel*, I would have advised, and (in my Sphere) advanced its consecration; accounting the Omission to fall under just reproof. But seeing it hath been so long omitted, I now conceive it hath no need of *Consecration*, seeing though never solemnly and formally dedicated to Divine Service by the *Ordinary*, (or one deputed by him) yet hath it had a *tacite, & interpretative* Consecration, and thereby hath contracted a *relative* Sacrednesse. By the same *Proportion*, it is, that *Utensils*, long used in a Family, to most civill and generous employment, by degrees acquire to themselves, the Reputation (in the Apostle's language) of *vessels of honour*; as being opposed to such vessels employed in fordid (though necessary) Service, and of the same metal and matter.

I doubt not but if this place used for a *Chappel* (now about a Jubilee of years) should be turned to a *Stable*, the *Animadvertor* would behold it (and justly too) as a piece of *Prophanation*, and this intimates a *Sacrednesse* therein.

It is mainly material, that *Bishop Andrews*, of *Ely*, a Reverend Prelate, and as knowing as any of his Order in this point of Antiquity; knew this to be in his *Diocesse*, yet never manifested the least Regreet at the *Chappelizing* of this Place.

As for consecration of Churches and Chappels, I say; first, is no *Sacramental action*.

Secondly, It is not of *Evangelical Institution*, as *Bellarmino* himself doth freely confesse, no *Express* for it in the New-Testament.

*De cultu Sanctorum. lib. 3. cap. 5.*

*In statu Evangelii non habemus tam expressa testimonia Scripturae.*

Thirdly, It is charitably to be presumed, that when *Dr. Montague*, and the fellows first entred the *Dormitory*, sequestering that place for a *Chappel*, they by Prayers and a Sermon, did solemnly consign it, to the Service of God: seeing no man of common Principles of Piety, will offer to eat meat, before he hath said *Grace*.

Fourthly, Such Prayers did in some sort Dedicate the place, wanting no formality, save, because not done by a Bishop; and if this be all the fault can be found therein, let the *Animadvertor* prove, (*probatio incumbit affirmanti*) that in the primitive Times, consecrating of Churches was only an *Episcopal Act*.

Fifthly, What was wanting in the consecration at the first, hath since sufficiently been supplied and corroborated by use thereof to Gods Service only.

If factious people, should, in peaceable times, against lawfull Authority conventicle in a *Barn* or *Stable*; their Meetings, (sinfull in themselves) could not derive any Sacrednesse to the place, whilst the World lasteth.

But if *Persecution*, which God of his goodness avert (though we by our wickednesse deserve it) should invade our Land; I conceive, Stables are, by Prayers, and presence of God's suffering Servants, and chiefly by God's presence with them, at the minute of their entrance thither, elevated into Holy places.

Dr. Heylyn.

And if the Brethren think it not enough for their ease to be pent up in so narrow a Room, tis but repairing to the next *Grove* or *Cypise*, and that in a like tract of time shall become as holy as *Solomons Temple*, or any consecrated place whatsoever it be.

Fuller.



Fuller.

Not the solemnest Consecration, can advance our Churches into the same degree of Sacredness with *Solomon's Temple*, which was (yea might bee) but *one*, dignified (when dedicated) with God his *Glorious Presence*, 2 *Chro.* 7.12. *Who chose that place to himself for an house of Sacrifice.* It was the Type of our blessed Saviour, perfect in all Points, as made by inspired Architects; and the utensils in the *Holy of Holiest*, the self same which *Moses* made according to the pattern in the *Mount*.

But I hold English Churches may amount to the *Holiness* of the Jewish Synagogues.

Dr. Heylyn.

Churches may well be spared, pulled down, and their Materials sold for the use of the Saints.

Fuller.

God forbid! The clean contrary followeth from my Position, wherein I do offer an Argument for the Sacredness of Places, the Register of whose Consecration is lost, as *Time* out of *Mind*, so that now they can no otherwise prove it, (no Record being extant thereof) save by *pious Prescription*. Enough in my Judgement to give Sacrilege, a *Rap over the fingers*, if offering to lay hold on such places and buildings, and turn them to her private Profit.

Were it in my power, I would have built a Church, where I only made my *Church-History*. But the worst is, the *Animadverstor* would then have quarrelled the contriving and adorning of my Church, as much as now he doth the matter and making of my Book; and therefore I leave it to others, of more ability, first to do, and then to defend their good Actions, from his *Morosity*.

Dr. Heylyn.

A Tub by this our Author's Logick, will be as useful as the Pulpit unto Edification.

Fuller.

This is a *Tale* (for I am sure it is no *Truth*) of a *Tub* indeed. I ever beheld a *Pulpit*, as in some sort *jure divino*, ever since I read *Nehem.* 3. 4. *that Ezra stood upon a Pulpit of Wood.* However, if called thereunto, I pray God I may make but as good a practical Sermon, as *John Badby* effectually preached in a Tub, of *Constancy* and *Christian Patience*, when put into such a \* Vessel, and burnt therein for the testimony of the Truth, in the Reign of K. *Henry* the fourth.

For, Acts  
and Monu-  
ments.

Dr. Heylyn.

And that we may perceive that nothing is more precious with him than an irregular, unconsecrated, and unfurnished Chappel, &c.

Fuller.

Next to an Heart, such as *David* had, made (the best *Copy* of the best *original*) after *Gods own heart*, I most highly prize a regular and consecrated Chappel, furnished with *Matron-like*, not *Meretricious* Ornaments.

Dr. Heylyn.

*Melvin's* infamous Libel against the Furniture of the Altars in the Chappels Royall, (for which he was censur'd in the Star-Chamber) must be brought in by head and shoulders, out of time and place, for fear lest such an excellent piece of Puritanical Zeal should be lost to posterity: These things I might have noted in their proper places, but that they were reserv'd for this as a taste to the rest.

Fuller.

Fuller.

I account not those his verses worth the translating, ( though easie ) and speak of his censure as well as of his offence. I mis-timed nothing, having entered this passage near the year wherein he was settled a Professor beyond the Seas.

Dr. Heylyn.

*Et jam finis erat ;* And here I thought I should have ended this Anatomy of our Author's Book, but that there is another passage in the Preface thereof, which requires a little further consideration.

For in that Preface he informs us, by the way of caution, *That the three first Books were for the main written in the Reign of the late King, as appeareth by the Passages then proper for the Government : The other nine Books were made since Monarchy was turned into a State.*

Fuller.

The *Animadvertor* hath fairly and fully ( no constant Practice ) cited my words; I request the Reader to take especial notice of those *three FOR THE MAIN*

I presume the Reader conceiveth such a caveat not improper or impertinent, but safe and seasonable, for my Defence, and his Direction, especially seeing the like happened not to any *English* Historian, this *thousand* \* years, that his Pen ( during the writing of his Book ) should pass through *Climates* of different Governments.

\*The Govern-  
ment of Eng-  
land, though  
often translat-  
ed from one  
Family, yea  
Nation to a-  
nother, yet  
hath so long  
continued  
Monarchical.

Dr. Heylyn.

By which it seems, that our Author never meant to frame his History by the line of Truth, but to attemper it to the palat of the present Government, whatsoever it then was, or should prove to be; which I am sure agrees not with the Laws of History.

And though I can most easily grant, that the fourth Book and the rest that follow, were written after the great alteration and change of State, in making a new Commonwealth out of the ruines of an ancient Monarchy; yet I concur not with our Author in the time of the former: For it appears by some passages, that the three first Books either were not all written in the time of the King, or else he must give himself some disloyal hopes, that the King should never be restored to his place and Power, by which he might be called to a reckoning for them.

Fuller.

*It Seems. [Multa videntur quæ non sunt.]* The Inference is false and forced; *Titus Livius* lived in Imperial, yet wrote of *Regal, Consulatory, Tribunitia* at Rome, without the least imputation of falshood. I conceive *Monarchical Aristocratical* and *Democratical* truth, to be One and the Same: It followeth not, that two-faced *Janus* ( as beholding two worlds, one before, the other after the Flood ) had also two *Hearts*. I did not attemper my History to the Palat of the Government; so as to sweeten it with any *Falshood*; but I made it *Palatable* thus far forth as not to give a wilful disgust to those in present Power, and procure danger to my self, by using any *over-salt tart* or *bitter* Expression, better forborn than inserted, without any prejudice to the Truth.

Dr. Heylyn.

For in the second Book he reckons the Cross in Baptism for a Popish Trinker, by which it appears not, I am sure, to have been written in the time of Kingly Government, that being no expression futable unto such a time.

Fuller.

Should I simply and absolutely call the Cross in Baptisme a *Popish Trinker*,

As my



my *fore-head* (Signed therewith) would give my *Tongue the lye*, and return the *Popery* in the teeth thereof. I behold it as an Ancient and Significant Ceremony, but in no degree *essentiall* to; or *completory* of, the Sacrament: witness the wisdom of the Church of *England*, which in private Baptism permitteth the *omitting* thereof. But when Ceremonies shall *devour their distance*, and intrude themselves *necessary* and *essential*, it is high time to term them *Superstitious Trinkets*. The rest I refer to what I have written, when this passage recurrerth in the place cited by the *Animadvector*.

## Dr. Heylyn.

Secondly, speaking of the precedency which was fixt in *Canterbury*, by removing the Archiepiscopal See from *London* thither, he telleth us that *the matter is not much, which See went first, when living; seeing our Age hath laid them both alike level in their Graves*: But certainly the Government was not changed into a State or Commonwealth, till the death of the King; and till the death of the King, neither of those Episcopall Sees, nor any of the rest, were laid so level in *their Graves*, but that they were in hope of a Resurrection; the King declaring himself very constantly in the Treaty at the *Isle of Wight*, as well against the abolishing of the Episcopall Government, as the alienation of their Lands.

Thirdly, In the latter end of the same Book, he makes a great dispute against the high and sacred privilege of the Kings of *England*, in curing the disease comonly called the *Kings Evil*, whether to be imputed to *Magick*, or *Imagination*, or indeed a *Miracle*; next, brings us in an old Wives Tale about Queen *Elizabeth*, as if she had disclaimed that power she daily exercised; and finally, manageth a Quarrel against the form of Prayer used at the curing of that Evil, which he arraigns for Superstition and impertinencies, no inferior Crimes: Are all these passages proper to that Government also?

Finally in the third Book, he derogates from the power of the Church in making *Canons*, giving the binding and concluding Power in matters which concern the civil Rights of the Subjects, not to the King, but to the Lay-people of the Land assembled in Parliament; which game he after followeth in the eighth and last: And though it might be safe enough for him in the eighth and last, to derogate in this manner from the King's supremacy in Ecclesiastical affairs; yet certainly it was neither safe for him so to do, nor proper for him so to write, in the time of the *Kingly Government*, unless he had some such wretched hopes as before we spake of.

## Fuller.

I desire the Reader, to remember my late words, (as the *Animadvector* recited them) *FORTHE MAIN*.

I confess, though these Books were written in the Reign of King *Charles*; yet after his Death, I interpolated some lines, and amongst others, that of *leveling* all *Bishopricks*.

I raised no dispute against the *Kings* curing the *Evil*, it being raised before I was born, and which I endeavoured to *allay*, referring it to *Miracle*, as to the peruser of my History, in that place will appear. I tell no old Wives Tale of Queen *Elizabeth*, it being a *Masculine Truth*, from most authentick Authors.

I derogate not, in the least degree, from the power of the Church; but the *Animadvector* doth arrogate unto it more then is due, by the Lawes of God and Man: maintaining that Church-men may go beyond *Ecclesiastical Censures*, even to the Limbs and *Lives* of such! as are *Recusants* to their *Constitutions*.

*WRETCHED* and what formerly he said *DISLOYAL HOPES*, I desire and return them in the Teeth of him that wrote the words.

He had *WRETCHED AND DISLOIAL HOPES*, who wrote, that King *James went to New-market, as Tiberius to his Caprea*; he waved his *Loyalty* and *Discretion* together, who so saucily and un-subject-like counted, how often King *Charles waved his Crown*.

Here give me leave to tell the *Animadvertor*, that such whom he slighteth for *LOW-ROYALISTS*, were (whilst they had a King in *England*) as *HIGH* in their Loyalty to him, *Prayers* and *Sufferings* for him, as those *HIGH-ROYALISTS*, who maintain that all goods of the Subjects are at the King's *absolute Dispose*, and yet since those Kings are departed this life, can write of them in so base and disparaging Language, that any one of the *LOW-ROYALISTS*, would have his right hand cut off, rather then write the like. Reader, pardon my too just passion, when *DISLOYALTY* is laid to my charge: It is with me *Either now speak or else for ever hereafter hold your Peace*.

Dr. Heylyn.

I must needs say that on the reading of these Passages, and the rest that follow, I found my self possesst with much Indignation.

And I long expected when some Champion would appear in the Listes against this *Goliath*, who so reproachfully had *defied the whole Armyes of Israel*.

And I must needs confesse withal, that I did never enter more unwillingly on any undertaking.

But beeing solicited thereunto by Letters, Messages, and several personal Addressies, by Men of all Orders and Dignities in the *Church*, and of all degrees in the Universities, I was at last overcome by that Importunity, which I found would not be resisted.

Fuller.

The Breaks in my Answer relate respectfully to those in the Doctor's Animadversions.

*Indignation*, is grief and anger boiled up to the height. What just cause I have given for so great passion, the Reader will judge.

If I be a *Goliath*, in this point may I have his Success to be conquered, killed, and my head cut off even with my own Sword; If I be none, May the *Animadvertor* be graciously pardoned.

And it may be, he shall never come off any undertaking more unhappily.

I could mate him, with telling him, that Men of all Sorts and Sizes, their Equals in Number and Quality, have likewise importuned me, not tamely to sit down, but to vindicate my own credit and conscience.

Dr. Heylyn.

I know that as the Times stand, I am to expect nothing for my pains and Travel but the displeasure of some, and censure of others.

Fuller.

I will take no advantage by the *Times*; and, if without their help, I cannot *Emoy* up my credit, let it *sink* for ever. And I humbly desire all, who have, or may reap benefit by my Books, not to be displeased with the *Animadvertor*, in my behalfe. It is Punishment enough that he hath written, and too much for his *Stationer* that he hath printed, so impertinent a Book.

When *Henry Lord Hunsdon*, on the High-way, had in Passion, given a Blow to *Sir Henry Cole*, the Lord had it returned him, the *Principal* with Interest: and when the Lord his Servants and Followers began to draw their Swords, *Away, away*, (said he) *cannot I and my Neighbour exchange a Box on the Ear, but you must interest your selves in the matter*.

Let none of my Friends and Favourers, engage their anger in this difference betwixt Mee and the *Animadvertor*. Let us alone; and although we enter Adversaries in the Beginning, wee shall I hope go out friends at the end of the Contest, after there hath been a *Pass* or two betwixt our Selves. Thus, Heats



Heats betwixt Lawyers born at the Bar, in Westminster-Hall, are commonly buried at the Board, in the Inns of Court.

Dr. Heylyn.

But coming to the work with a single Heart abstracted from all self-ends and Interests, I shall satisfy my Self, with having done this poor Service to the Church, my once blessed Mother, for whose sake only I have put my Self upon this Adventure.

The party whom I am to deal with, is so much a stranger to me, that he is neither *beneficio*, *nec injuriâ notus*; and therefore no particular respects have mov'd me to the making of these Animadversions.

Which I have writ (without Relation to his person) for vindication of the Truth, the Church, and the injured Clergy, as before is said: So that I may affirm with an honest Conscience;

*Non lecta est operi, sed data, causa meo*, That this imployment was not chosen by me, but impos'd upon me; the unresistable Intreaties of so many friends having something in them of Commands.

But howsoever, *Facta est alea*, as *Cæsar* once said when he passed over the *Rubicon*.

I must now take my fortune whatsoever it proves. So God speed me well.

Fuller.

How much of this SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE is performed by him, let the Reader judge in due time.

I am glad to hear this Passage from the *Animadvertor*, that I never did him any Injury; the rather because some of my Friends have charged me for provoking his Pen against me. And though I pleaded that neither in Thought, Word, or Deed, I ever did him any wrong, I hardly prevailed with them for believe: And now the *Animadvertor* hath cleared me, that I never did any Injury unto him. Would I could say the same of him, that he never did me any Injury. However, as a Christian, I here fully and freely forgive him, and hereafter will endeavour as a Scholar, so to defend my self against his Injury, that (God willing) it shall not shake my Contentment.

Without relation to my person, let the Reader be Judge hereof. Indeed *Thomas* hath been well used by him, but *Fuller* hath soundly felt his displeasure. However, if Truth, the Church, and Clergy have been abused by me; He hath given Me too fair quarter, who deserved Death down-right, for so hainous an Offence.

Amongst all which Persons inciting him to write against me, one Letter sent to him, from *Regina Pecunia* was most prevalent with him. Witness this his Book offered to, and refused by some Stationers, because, on his high terms, they could not make a saving Bargain to themselves.

*Facta est alea*. The English is, *you have cast the Dey*. And seeing the *Animadvertor* hath begun the Metaphor, I hope I may make it an Allegory, without rendring either of us Scandalous. I appeal to the Reader, whom I make Groom Porter, (termed by Mr. Camb. *Aleatorum Arbitrator*) and let him judge, who plays with False, who Coggs, who sturrs a Dey and in a doubtful Case, when we cannot agree upon the Cast; betwixt our selves, let him decide it.

By Fortune, I presume the *Animadvertor*, intendeth nothing derogatory to divine Providence, in which Sense St. *Augustin*, retracteth his [former] frequent using of the Word. Only he meaneth uncertainty of Successe. In which notion I say an hearty Amen to his Prayer, when I have enlarged his God speed me into God speed US well. May he, who manageth this Controversie, with most Sincerity, come off with best Successe. AMEN.

*Errata confessed by the Printer of Dr. Heylyn's Animadversions.*

Page 10. line 17. for *Helkinus* r. *Telkinus*, p. 20. l. 21. for *Queen of*, r. *Queen of England*, p. 27. l. 6. for *Wooderpoir* r. *Woodensdike*, p. 42. l. 1. for *inconsideratenesse* r. the *inconsideratenesse* of Children, p. 121. l. 128. for *ter*. r. *better*, p. 145. l. 2. for *statuendo* r. *statuendi* p. 15. l. 22. *Horconior* r. *cantuor*, p. 154. l. 17. for *Dr. Hammond* r. *Dr. Boke*, p. 160. l. 1. for *his* r. *this*, p. 163. l. 28. for *Jesuites* r. *Franciscans*, p. 189. l. ult. 2. or *contemn* r. *confession*, p. 221. in the Marg. for *whether* r. *with other*, p. 228. l. 2. for *Den* r. *Dean*, p. 239. l. 9. for *Commons* r. *Canons*, p. 271. l. ult. for *culis* r. *ocul*. s.

*Fuller.*

This is a Catalogue of Prelat. Mistakes, committed and confessed in the Doctor's Book of *Animadversions*, and here by me inserted, not to disparage the pains or care of the Printer, but on these Considerations.

First, to prevent all Exceptions, that I have *defectively* presented in his Book.

Secondly, to show, that sometimes (as here) there may be an *Erratum Erratorum*, to be *re-reformed*. It thus beginneth. Page 10. l. 17. for *Melkinus* r. *Telkinus*. That is, read that which is *wrong*, instead of that which was *right before*. For a *Melkinus Avalonius*, appeareth in *Bale*, *Fits*, and others but a *Telkinus* was never in Nature. But Take notice also of this confessed Mistake, p. 163. l. 28. for *Jesuits* r. *Franciscans*. There is here no temptation to the Press to Erre, there being betwixt the two Words, no literal Similitude, or Orthographical Symbolizing, scarce a letter in the one, which is in the other.

I make no other use hereof save only to crave the like Favour, in my own Defence, when in the *Earls of March*, *Roger* is misprinted *Edward*; and in the *Earls of Bath*, *Henry* is misprinted *william*, in my *Church History*.

I confess there be some Press faults in this my Book, as for *Prelat*, (wherever occurring) read *Prelat*; part 1. p. 50. l. 32. for *Anno Dom.* 580 r. 560. part. 1. p. 52. l. 18. for *DEMOLr. DEINOL.* and part 2. page 88. betwixt the 33. and 34 l. insert I pray,

Papists, Non-conformists, and covetous Conformists, the Acts therein appearing like.

For the rest, I hope they are nothing so many or great, as to discompose the sense, and therefore I confide in the Reader's Discretion as also in the Animadvector's Ingenuity, expecting he will deal as candidly with me, as I have done with him, when such (though unconfessed) Errata's do occur.

And because my hand is now in, I request such as have my *Church-history* to delete these words

Book 2. p. 129. l. 21.

A Title till his Time unknown in England

For I profess I know not by what casualty these words crept into my Book, contrary to my intent.





## PART I.

Dr. Heylyn.

**I**N order to the first conversion of the British Nation, our Author takes beginning at the *sad condition* they were in, before the Christian Faith was preached unto them. And in a *sad condition* they were indeed, as being in the state of *Gentilism*, and consequently without the true knowledge of the God that made them.

Fuller.

The Author takes beginning where Dr. Heylyn himself, had he writ the *Church-History of Brittain*, I believe, would, and I am sure should, have begun. And seeing he concurrerth vvith the Author in the same expression, that the *Brittains* were in a *sad condition*, he might have spared himself and his Reader the trouble, of the following impertinency.

Dr. Heylyn.

But yet they were not in a *worse condition* then the other *Gentiles*, &c.

Fuller.

Nor did I ever say they were. Had I said so, the Doctor's carping had had a handle to hold on, vvhereas novv his teeth and nails must bite and scratch a fastning for themselves.

Dr. Heylyn.

But yet not in a *worse condition* then the other *Gentiles*, vvho were not onely darkened in their understanding, but so deprav'd also in their affections, as to work all manner of uncleanness even with greediness. Not so effeminate in their conversation as the *Asiatics*, nor so luxurious as the *Greeks*, nor branded with those filthy and unnaturall lusts which St. Paul chargeth on the *Romans*, and were in ordinary practise with most Eastern Nations.

Fuller.

What of all this? It is said of King \* *Joram*, He wrought evill in the sight of the Lord, but not like his father and like his mother. It is said of King \* *Hoshea*, He did that which was evill in the sight of the Lord, but not as the Kings of Israel that were before him. It doth not follow, that these Kings were good, because less bad then others. So that my words stand an unshakened truth, that the *Brittains* before their conversion were (though not so debauched as other Heathens) *Idolaters*, in a *sad condition*. \* 2 King. 3. 2.  
\* 2 King. 17. 2.

Dr. Heylyn.

And though they were *Idolaters*, yea, and *foul ones*, as our Author hath it; yet neither, &c.

Fuller.

If they were *Idolaters*, they must be *foul ones*, except (as one hath fancied a tale of a fair *Ethiopian*) any could make a truth of fair *Idolaters*.

Dr. Heylyn.

Yet neither were their gods of so brutish and impure a nature, as the *Priapus*, *Clacina*, and *Stercutia* amongst the *Romans*; or as their *Venus*, *Flora*, *Lupa*, common Harlots. All of vvhich, and such like other gods, the old Fathers tell

N

us,

us, that they were not *nomina Colendorum, sed crimina Colentium*. Nor were they so immodest and obscene in their rites and ceremonies, as were the *Greeks* and *Romans*, in the Sacrifices to their *Cybele* or *Berecynthia*, whom they call the mother of the gods; described by *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, and others of the ancient Writers, in such lively colours, as no chaste eye can look upon them without derelation.

Fuller.

Well may the Doctor run apace, drawing an empty Cart after him. What is all this to confute my position, that the *unconverted Britains*, *foul Idolaters*, were in a sad condition? It seems he had a mind to tell the world of the foulest Idolls amongst the *Romans*; and, if so, let them thank him for his intelligence, who knew it not before.

Dr. Heylyn.

And for the number of their gods, they fell extreamly short of that infinite multitude, which *St. Augustine* finds amongst the *Romans*, our Author naming onely three, (which he calls *gods paramount*) that is to say, *BELINUS*, *AN-DATE*, and *DIANA*.

Fuller.

If they had onely three gods, they had too many. However, it will appear, that these were onely (as the Author phraseth them) *Paramount*. That they fell not (to use the Doctor's words) *extreamly short* (a virtuous *extream*) of the *Romans* in their *Idolatri*, may thus be proved.

They that had Idolls almost exceeding the *Egyptians* in number, fell not much short of the *Romans*.

But the ancient *Britains* almost exceeded the *Egyptians* in number of Idolls.

Therefore they fell not much short of the *Romans*.

The Major is plain in *Scripture*, often complaining of the Idolls of *Egypt*; as also in *human Writers*, *Juvenal* jeering the *Egyptians*, for being over-stocked with such kind of cattle, whose gods (*Leeks* and *Onions*) did commonly grow in their Gardens.

The Minor are the very words of *grave Gildas*, the most ancient *Brittish* Writer, (flourishing *Anno Domini* 580.) *Portenta pene numero Egyptiaca Vincentia*. Where, in few words, we have the *Numerosity* and *Monstrosity* of the *Brittish* Idolls. *Numerosity*, almost exceeding the *Egyptians*; *Monstrosity*, called *Portents*, mishapen Anticks of prodigious deformity.

Dr. Heylyn.

When therefore *Gildas* telleth us of the ancient *Brittains*, that in the number of their gods they had almost exceeded *Egypt*, (*Portenta pene numero Egyptiaca Vincentia*, in that Author's language) it must be understood with reference to the Times in which he lived, when all the *Roman* Rabble had been thrust upon them, and not as speaking of the time of their first Conversion.

Fuller.

*Satis pro Imperio*, *MUST* is for a King; and seeing the Doctor and I are both Kings alike, I return, He *MUST NOT* be so understood; as, to any judicious and indifferent Reader will appear.

For the clearing hereof, I will present and translate the words of *Gildas*, with what precedeth and followeth them, conducing effectually to the true understanding of this clause controverted. I use the first and best printed Edition, set forth by *Polydore Virgil* 1525. and Dedicated to *Cuthbert Tonstall*, then the learned Bishop of *London*. Onely because I suspect, that some Readers will be out of breath in going along with the long-winded style of *Gildas*, (the excusable fault of the Age he lived in) I crave leave to divide his long and entire Sentence,



tence, for the better understanding thereof, into severall parcells, without the least addition therero, or alteration thereof.

*Gildas Folio primo.*

*Igitur omittens priscos illos communesque cum omnibus gentibus, errores, quibus ante adventum Christi in carne omne humanum genus obligabatur adstrictum.*

*Nec enumerans PATRIÆ PORTENTA ipsa diabolica pene numero Ægyptiaca vincentia, quorum nonnulla lineamenti adhuc deformibus intra vel extra deserta mœnia solito more rigentia, torvis vultibus intuemur.*

*Neque nominatim inclamitans Montes ipsos aut Colles, vel Fluvios (olim exitiabiles, nunc vero humanis usibus utiles) quibus divinus Honor à cæco tunc populo cumulabatur.*

*Et tacens vetustos immanium Tyrannorum Annos, qui in aliis longe positis Regionibus vulgati sunt, ita ut Porphyrius, rabidus orientalis adversus Ecclesiam canis, dementiae suæ ac vanitatis stylo hoc etiam adnecteret, Britannia, inquit, fertilis Provincia Tyrannorum.*

*Illatantum proferre conabor in medium, quæ temporibus Romanorum Imperatorum & passa est, & aliis intulit Civibus & longe positis, mala.*

*Gildas first Lease.*

Omitting therefore those old Errors, and common [to the Britains] with other Nations, to which all Mankind was tyed and fettered, before the coming of Christ in the flesh.

Nor reckoning up those very devilish PORTENTS of our own COUNTRY, almost exceeding those of Ægypt in Number; some whereof we, with frowning eyes, do still behold, drawn with deformed shapes within or without our desert Walls.

Nor calling upon by name the Mountains themselves, or Hills, or Rivers, (in times past deadly, now profitable to mans use) on which divine honour was then heaped up by the blind people.

And passing over in silence the ancient years of those vast Tyrants, which are commonly spoken of in other far-distant Countries; so that Porphyrius (that raging Dog of the East against the Church) in the style of his madness and vanity, addeth this also, *Britain* (saith he) a fruitfull Province of Tyrants.

I will onely endeavour publickly to proffer such evils, as she [Britain] in the times of the Roman Emperours both suffered in her self, and impressed on her People placed far off.

See here this Prolixe sentence of Gildas, built (as I may say) five stories high; the four first are of Privation, or Preterition, of what he will not meddle with; the fifth and last, of Position, whereon he would insist. He would not reckon the British Errors common with others, nor Patriæ Portenta, the Portentive Idolls of their Country, which plainly decideth the thing in controversie, that those their Idolls were *Indigenæ*, non *Advenæ*; Natives, not Forraigners, of British origination, not Roman superinduction. His method plainly proveth, that these Subjects which he declineth to treat of, were all of them precedaneous to the Romans coming into Britain, whence he beginneth his History. I mention not the Marginal Note of Polydore Virgil, (placed over against the words of Gildas) *Veterum Britannorum vana Religio*, The vain Religion of the old Britains. The rest of his Testimony we leave lying in the Deck, and it will not be long before we shall make use thereof.

**Dr. Heylyn.**

But whether their Idolls were more or fewer, our Author is resolved on DIANA for one; though whether this were a British deity may be more then questioned, whose Temple was built in, or near the place, where St. Pauls now stands, as our learned Antiquaries do acknowledge.

Fuller.

## Fuller.

The *Animadvertor* doth confesse, that the *Brittains* did worship *Diana*: But whether she was one of the latter brood of Idols, brought in by the *Romans* at their Conquest; or hatched long before amongst the *Brittains*, as their own Country-goddes, is the Question. I am confident in the latter.

The *Brittish Stories* tell us, that *Brutus* (some hundred of years before the *Romans* arrived here) being upon his Sea-voyage to seek his fortune, repaired to the Temple of *Diana*, in an Island called *Largeria*, and there addressing himself to her Temple, was in a dream not onely instructed in the manner of her sacrifices, and rituall services; but also directed to an Island in the West, now *Brittain*, where his Posterity should fix themselves in happiness. And that this passeth for currant amongst the *Welch*, I report my self to their learned Gentry, the proper judges thereof.

Let me add this Passage from the Pen of as great an Antiquary, as any *Wales* now doth enjoy.

*As for the name of Diana, I do conceive that she was called Dain in our Language, and I have many Histories of our Nation, that seem to make no question of it. To this day in Wales, fatt marketable Cattle are called Guartheg Demol; that is to say, Diana's Cattle, or, Cattle fit to be sacrificed, &c. And I am more then confident, there is no man living can put any other interpretation upon this word Demol; it must be an Adjecive of Dain, and Dain hath no other signification in our Language, then the name of Diana.*

## Dr. Heylyn.

This Temple of *Diana* in *London* (saith the Author) *rendreth their conceit not altogether unlikely, who will have London so called from Llan-Dian, which signifieth in Brittish, the Temple of Diana.* A conceit, whosesoever it was, not altogether so likely neither as the Author makes it.

## Fuller.

No cautiousness of proof against captiousness. I called it but a conceit, I said not that it was true; yea, my words left an insinuation of unlikeliness to an indifferent Reader. But seeing the *Animadvertor* is so hard-hearted to an innocent conceit, I shall ever hereafter love it the better.

## Dr. Heylyn.

A conceit, *LONDON* from *LLAN-DIAN*, whosesoever it was; not altogether so likely neither as the Author makes it. For though the *Brittains* being well stored with *Wood* and *Venison*, possibly might have a *Hunting-goddes* amongst the rest. Yet certainly she was not called by the name of *Diana*, till the *Roman Conquest* and *Plantations*, before which time this City had the name of *London*, (or *Londinum*) as we read in *Tacitus*. The name and sacrifices of *Diana* were not originally *Brittish*, but of *Roman* race, as the great Temple in or near the place where *St. Pauls* now stands, was of their foundation. The *Brittains*, worshipping *Apollo* by the name of *Belinus*, as both *Cambden* and our Author lay they did, must be supposed to have another name for *Diana* also, and were more likely to have called her by the name of *Artemis*, her old *Grecian* name, or by some other of as near a resemblance to it, as *Belinus* was to that of *Bel* in the *Eastern Countries*. Assuredly, if that great City had received its name from *Diana's Temple*, the *Welch* being so tenacious of their ancient Language, would have had some remembrance of it, who to this day call it *Lundayn*, and not *LLAN-DIAN*, according to the new conceit which our Author speaks of. But of this enough.

Fuller.



Fuller.

Yea indeed, too much. So may you say, A farfeit is enough. *Whosoever this sonnet was.*] I had thought the *Animadvector* could not have been ignorant thereof, being no meaner a man than Mr. Selden.

This learned *Antiquary*, after he had alledged some Verses out of Robert of Glocester, deriving the name of LONDON, quasi LUD'S TOWN, from LUD, he proceedeth as followeth;

In his Notes on the eighth SONG in POLYOLBION, Page 126.

*Judicious Reformers of fabulous Report, I know, have more serious derivations of the name; and, seeing conjecture is free, I could imagine, it might be called at first LHANDIEN, i. the Temple of Diana, as LHANDEWI, LHANDSTEPHAN, LHANDPADERNVAUR, LHANDVAIR. i. e. S. Dewys, S. Stephans, S. Patern the great, S. Mary (and Verulam, is by H. Lhuid derived from VERLHAN. e. i. the Church upon the River Ver) with divers more such places in Wales: and so afterwards by strangers turned into Londinium, and the like. For that Diana and her brother Apollo (under the name of Belin) were two great deities amongst the Britons.*

If the *Animadvector* hath a mind to enter the List with Mr. Selden, and have a *vennue* with him, to try whose skill is most and weapon best; he may, if he pleaseth.

Dr. Heylyn.

Now to facilitate this great work of their Conversion, Camden and Godwin, two great *Antiquaries*, have alledged one reason, which is not allowed of by our *Author*; and our *Author* hath alledged another reason, which none can allow of but himself. The reason alledged by the two great *Antiquaries*, is, that the *Druides* did instruct the Britains in the knowledge of One onely God, which questionlesse was a great step to their Conversion. *Druides unum esse Deum semper inculcârunt*, saith our *Author's Margin*. But this he reckoneth a mistake, and thus charitably wisheth thereupon, viz.

*May their mistake herein be as freely forgiven them, as I hope and desire, that the charitable Reader will with his pardon meet those involuntary errors, which in this work by me shall be committed.*

Whether all the errors of our *Author* be involuntary, or not, (for I grant that some of them may be such) will be seen hereafter.

Fuller.

In good time, Sir. But till this [hereafter] cometh, Judge not, lest you be judged; and think charitably, that a Christian will not willingly, wittingly, and wilfully run into errors.

Dr. Heylyn.

But whether those two learned Pens were mistaken or not, shall be now examined. I conceive clearly, that they were not mistaken in it, it being first improbable, if not impossible, that two Men of such Parts and Learning, and of such eminent integrity in all their Writings, should vent a Proposition, or position rather, which they have no ground for.

Fuller.

They were learned Pens indeed, as ever our Nation bred, in their kind of Studies; and great *Antiquaries*. But onely the \*ANTIENNT OF DAIES is Omniscient and Infalible. And I am confident, such was their Ingenuity, that they would rather be thankfull to, than angry with any, who, with due respect to their persons, should discover their mistakes. Amongst which, this was one, that the DRUIDES instructed the Britains in the knowledge of one God.

The contrary doth plainly appear by the testimony of Gildas, lately alledged, whose words are so walled about (as I may say) on both sides, by what went before

before, and after that, as they cannot be evaded, they cannot be perverted to other reference, than relating unto the Religion of the *antient Britains*, long before the entrance of the *Romans* into this *Island*; who, besides a *numerous rabblement of portentous Idols*, gave *divine honour* to *Mountains, Hills, and Rivers*. Nothing can be more diametrically opposite to the *worship of One God*, than such *gross and generally diffused Polytheism*.

Add to the authority of *Gildas* that of *Origen*, thus writing in his fourth Homily on *Ezekiel*.

*Consistentur & miserabiles Judaei hac de Christi presentia predicarizsed stulte ignorant personam, cum videant impleta quae dicta sunt. Quando enim terra Britannia ante adventum Christi in unius Dei consensu religionem? Quando terra Maurorum, &c.*

All judicious Readers easily understand this Interrogation, [*When did the Land of Britain, before the coming of Christ, consent in the Religion of one God?*] I say, all do understand, that this his question asked, and left unanswered, amounteth unto a very strong Negation; and, that before the coming of Christ, Britain was divided into the worshipping of many gods.

### Dr. Heylyn.

And secondly our Author tells of the *Druides*, that they were *Philosophers, Divines, and Lawyers*, to the rest of the *Britains*; and if *Philosophers*, they might by their long study in the book of Nature, and their *Industrious inquiry* into naturall Causes, attaine unto the knowledge of that one and onely Supernaturall Cause, (as others of the *Heathen Philosophers* in their severall Countries,) from which the works of Nature had their first Originall. And of some other the old *Philosophers*, it is said expressly by *Aminutius*, that they had spoken so divinely of the things of God; *ut quisvis arbitretur aut nunc Christianos Philosophos esse, aut Philosophos fuisse jam tunc Christianos*. So little was the difference in that particular, between these old *Philosophers* and the *Primitive Christians*. For though they did admit a multitude of Inferiour Gods, *Topical* in respect of Countries, and *Tutelar* in respect of particular Persons; yet in the middle of that darknesse they discerned one Supreme God over all the rest, *πᾶσι θεῶν δεῶν*, as the *Grecians*; *Hominum Sator atque Deorum*, as the *Latines* call him. And though they were mistaken in the name of that Supream Power, whom generally they entituled by the name of *Jupiter*, yet they did well enough agree in giving him the Supream Power over all the world. *Et qui Jovem principem volunt falluntur in nomine, sed de ea potestate consentiunt*, as my Author hath it. Nor did those old *Philosophers* keep the great truth unto themselves, like a Candle in a dark-Lanthorn, or hid under a bushell; but plac'd it like a great Light on the top of a Mountain, that all the people might discern it; who thereupon lifting their hands unto the Heavens, did frequently make their addresses but to one God onely, saying in common SPEECH unto one another, that *God was great*, and *God was true*, and, *If God permit*. Of which, my Author (the same Christian Advocate) seems to make a question; *Vulgi iste naturalis sermo est, an Christiani consistentis oratio?* that is to say, Whether these expressions favoured not rather of the *Christian*, than the vulgar *Heathen*. And hereupon I may conclude in the behalf of the *Druides*, (or rather of those learned Pens who affirm it of them) that being *Philosophers* in Study, and *Divines* by Office, and very eminent in their times in both capacities, they might as well instruct the People in the knowledge of one onely God, as any other of the *Heathen Sages*, either *Greeks* or *Romans*. The reason alledged by these great *Antiquaries* being thus made good, we next proceed to the examination of that which is produced by our Author.

### Fuller.

In this long *Harangue*, I know not what the *Animadvertor* aims at; this I know, he hits not me, nor alledgeth any thing in opposition to what I have written.



written. If he desireth onely to prove, that the *refined Heathens* worshipped one God above all the rest, he shall not onely have my free consent, but the adjection of this my *Symbol* thereunto.

I conceive, that the Pagans adored the *Essence of God* under the name of *Jupiter*: and his Attributes under other Titles; *Wisdom*, of *Apollo*; *Omni-presence*, *Swiftness of Mercury*; *Power*, of *Mars*; *Beauty*, of *Venus*; *Providence over the Sea*, *Neptune*; *Winds*, *Eolus*; *Cattle*, *Pan*, &c. Yet can I not see, how this can excuse them from being foul Idolaters, seeing the morall Commandment doth not say, *Thou shalt not have other gods in equal degree of worship with me*; but, \* *Thou shalt not have other gods before me*: and the *Animadverſor* knoweth well, that the Originall importeth, *Coram me*, that is, *Thou shalt have none other in my sight or presence*. Exod. 10. 3.

Now for quietneſſe ſake, let the reſult of this long diſcourſe ( ſo far as I can underſtand ) be granted him, and it amounts to no more, then to put the *Britains* in the ſame form with the *Grecians*; inſtructed by their *Druids* in the worſhip of one God, as well and as far as the *Grecians* were in the ſame Leſſon by their *Philophers*. Now what the *Grecians* held and did in this point, will appear by the praſiſe of the *Athenians*, whoſe City was the *Miſtris of Greece*, *Staple of Learning*, and *Palace of Philophers*; and how well the *Athenians* worſhipped one God, we have from the infallible witneſs of St. \* *Paul*, whoſe *ſpirit was ſtirred within him, whiſt he ſaw the City wholly given to idolatry*. Whence it will follow, that the *Brittaines*, form-fellows with the *Grecians*, were wholly given to Idolatry; which is as much, and more then I ſaid before. Act. 17. 16.

And now the Reader may judge, what progreſs the *Animadverſor* hath made in confuting what I have written; yea, leſs then the *Beaſt Pignia* in *Brail*, which, as he telleth us \* *elſewhere*, goeth not ſo far in *fourteen daies*, as one may throw a ſtone. Yea, our *Adverſary* hath not gone at all, ( ſave backward ) and if he doth not mend his pace, it will be late before he commeth to his lodging. \* In his Anticriſm, p. 800.

Here let me mind the *Animadverſor*, that my *Church-Hiſtory* thus beginneth; *That we may the more freely and fully pay the tribute of our thanks to Gods goodneſs, for the Goſpell which we now enjoy; let us recount the ſad condition of the Britains, our Predeceſſors, before the Chriſtian faith was preached unto them*. If therefore the *Animadverſor* by his tedious diſcourſe, endeavouring to UN-IDOLATRIZE the *Brittains* as much as he could; I ſay, if hereby he hath hindred or leſſened any mans paying of his thanks to God, he hath done a *thankleſs office* both to God and Man therein.

### Dr Heylyn.

Our Author proceedeth, fol. 3. *It facilitated the entrance of the Goſpell hither, that lately the Roman Conqueſt had in part civilized the South of this Iſland, by transporting Colonies, and erecting of Cities there.*] Than which, there could not any thing be ſaid more different from the truth of ſtory, or from the time of that Conversion, which we have in hand; performed, as all our latter Writers (and amongſt them our Author himſelf) have affirmed from *Gildas*, who lived in the fourth Century of the Chriſtian Church) *Tempore ſummo Tiberii Ceſaris*, toward the latter end of the Reigne of *Tiberius Ceſar*, that is to ſay, about thirty ſeven years after Chriſts Nativity, at what time the *Romans* had neither erected any one City, nor planted any one Colony in the South parts of the Iſland. For though *Julius Ceſar*, in purſuance of his *Gallick Conqueſt*, had attempted this Iſland, croſſed the *Thames*, and pierced as far as *Verulamium*, in the County of the *Cattieuchlani*, (now *Hartfordſhire*) yet either finding how difficult a work it was like to prove, or having buſineſs of more moment, he gave over the enterprize, reſting contented with the honour of the firſt diſcovery. *Et offendiſſe potius quam tradiſſe*, as we read in *Tacitus*. Nothing done after this in order to the Conqueſt of *Brittain*, untill the time of *Claudius*. *Auguſtus* would by no means be perſwaded to the undertaking, and much leſs *Tiberius*,

*Tiberius*, in whose last years the Gospell was first preach'd in *Brittain*, as before was said. \* *Concilium id Divus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius precipue.* And though *Caligula*, leaving the honour of this Conquest to his Uncle *Claudius*, who next succeeded in the Empire; and being invited into *Brittain* by a discontented party amongst the Natives, reduc'd some part thereof into the form of a Roman Province. Of this, see *Tacitus* at large, in the life of *Agricola*. By which it will appear most clearly, that there was neither City of the Romans erection, nor Colony of their plantation, till the time of *Claudius*, and consequently no such facilitating of the work, by either of those means which our Author dreams of. But from the Time, proceed we to the Author of this first Conversion, of which thus our Author.

## Fuller.

In the first place, know, Reader, that Mr. *Burton*, in his late learned Notes on *Antoninus*, justifieth, that *Julius Cesar* did Colonize (what ever the *Animadvector* saith to the contrary) some part of this Land; otherwise, his whole Conquest would have unraveled after his departure, and his Successors had had their work to begin afresh.

2ly. I say not, the first entrance, but, the Entrance of the Gospell was facilitated by the Roman Conquest. The entrance of the Gospell into this Island was so far from being done in an instant, or, *simul & semel*, that it was not, *res unius seculi*, the product of one age; but was successively done, *πολυμερὲς καὶ πολυετής*, at sundry times, and in divers manners. So that this extensive entrance of the Christian Religion, gradually insinuating it self, took up a century of years, from the latter end of *Tiberius*, and so forwards.

Christianity entred not into this Island like *Lightning*, but like *light*. None can behold this Essay thereof in the time of *Tiberius*, otherwise then a *morning-Star*; some forty years after the day dawned, and lastly, under King *Lucius*, (that *Leuer-Maure*, or the great light) the Sun of Religion may be said to arise; before which time, the South of this Island was sufficiently Colonized by the Romans; whereby Commerce and Civility ushered Christianity into *Brittain*. Yet to clear my words, not from untruth in themselves, but mistakes in others, and to avoid all appearance of falshood, it shall be altered (God-willing) in the next Edition. It facilitated the entrance and propagation of the Gospell here; &c.

## Dr. Heylyn.

Parsons the Jesuite mainly stickleth for the Apostle Peter to have first preached the Gospell here. And our Author doth as mainly stickle against it. The Reason which induced Parsons so to stickle in it, was, as our Author thinks and telleth us, fol. 4. to infer an Obligation of this Island to the See of Rome. And to exempt this Island from that Obligation, our Author hath endeavoured to disprove the Tradition.

## Fuller.

That the Jesuite furiously driveth on that designe; appeareth to any that peruse his Works, and your Author conceiveth his owne Endeavour lawfull and usefull in stopping his full Carrere, and disobliging the Church of England from a Debt as unjustly pretended, as vehemently prosecuted.

*Et veniam pro laude petit; laudatus ab una,*

*Non fastiditus, si tuus Auctor erit.*

Your Author for his praise doth pardon craves

If not despis'd, his praise enough shall have.

It is therefore but hard measure, for you to requite his good intentions, (if failing in successe) with contempt and reproach.

## Dr. Heylyn.

Whereas indeed St. Peters preaching in this Island, (if he were the first that preach't here) in the Time of *Tiberius*, must be before his Preaching in the City



ty of *Rome*, to which he came not till the Reigne of the Emperour *Claudius*. And thereupon it followeth by the *Jesuit's* Logick, that the *Brittains* by sparing their *Apostle* to preach at *Rome*, did lay an Obligation upon that Citty, but received none from it.

*Fuller.*

Yea but if *Simeon \* Metaphrastes* be to be believed (on whose testimony *Parsons \* S. Metaphra-* Principally relieth) being the selfe same Author, whom the *Animadvertores*, Com-  
within few lines hereafter doth so highly commend and extoll, St. *Peter* pre- ment. de Pe-  
ched here, not before, but long after his being at *Rome*; and but a little before tro et Paulo  
his Death, namely in the twelfth year of *Nero Cesar*. ad diem 29.  
Junij.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

Or granting that St. *Peter* did first preach at *Rome*, yet would this draw up- on us no such engagement to the *Pope*, and the Church of *Rome*, as our Author fears; and other *German Nations* by *Boniface*, *Willibade*, *Willibad*, *Willibidd*, and *Swibert*, English *Saxons* all, might or did draw the like Dependence of those Churches, upon this of *England*.

*Fuller.*

The proportion, I confesse, is Good and well-grounded: but I answer, great the difference betwixt the *Natures* of *England* and *Rome*. *England* never pretended *Superiority* over other Churches, which *Rome* doth, prosecuting even *Shadowy pretences* with all violence. What the *Talent-hiding servant* said of his Master, may be justly said of moderne *Rome*, *She reapeth where she hath not sowed*; demanding *Officium*, where she never bestow'd *Beneficium*, and requiring duty where she never conferred *Courtesie*. *Rome* therefore being no faire *Creditor*, but so cruell an *Extortioner*, I conceive my paines well employed, to quit *England* from a Debt of Obligation, unjustly exacted of her by *Parsons* the *Jesuite*, on the pretence of St. *Peter's* preaching here.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

So that this fear being overblown, we will consider somewhat further of St. *Peters* first Preaching in this Island, not as deliver'd by Tradition from the Church of *Rome*, which is suspected to have pleaded their own Interest in it; but as affirmed positively by the *Greek Menologies*, and in the works of *Simeon Metaphrastes* an approved *Greek Author*. Of the *Menologies* (though vouched by *Camden* to this purpose) our Author takes no notice at all, but lets the weight of his displeasure fall on *Metaphrastes*.

*Fuller.*

The best way to over-blow this feare is to confute the five Arguments alledged by *Parsons*, for St. *Peters* Preaching here, which I hope is done effectually by me in my *Church-History*, where I follow the *Jesuite* verbatim, in answering to his Reasons. And this is the Reason that I took no notice of the *Greek Menologies*, because not mentioned by *Parsons*: whence I collect that either he had never seen them, (which is very improbable,) or else he conceived, that no great believe was to be given unto them, or advantage thereby to be gotten for his Cause.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

Our Author saith, *Metaphrastes* is an Author of no Credit, as *Baronius* himselfe doth confesse. But first, *Baronius* himselfe makes no such Confession, that which our Author tells us from him being onely this, *In alijs multis ibi ab ipso positis errare eum certum est*; that is to say, that he hath err'd in many things by him delivered. Assuredly if to erre in many things delivered in so great a Work, as that of *Simon Metaphrastes*, may forthwith be conceived sufficient to

make an *Author* of no *Credit*, God blesse not onely our *Historian*, but *Baronius* himselfe from being held *Authors* of no *Credit*, in both whom there are many *Errors* not possible to be reconciled to the *Truth* of *Story*.

*Fuller.*

THREE is a perfect Number, let therefore the *Animadvertor* be put in also, partly to make up a *Complete company*; partly that he may have the *Benefit* of his owne *JEAR-PRAYERS* to himselfe.

*Baronius* being *Dead*, to pray for him, is *Popery*; and to take *God's Name* in vain (to *Jear* us both) is *Prophanenesse*. The *Animadvertor* who now *inserts*, *GOD-BLESSE*, when it might have been omitted, will omit it when it should be inserted; as *God willing* I shall take notice of in due time and place hereafter.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

But secondly, as *Baronius* did not, so he could not say, that *Metaphrastes* was an *Author* of no credit: the *Man* being not onely pious, but *Learned* also, for the times wherein he lived; honoured as a *Saint* in the *Greek Menologies*, on the 27. day of *November*, and graced with a *Funeral Oration* by *Michael Psellus* a *Renowned Scholler*, highly extolled by *Balsamon* for his paines and industry in this present work, and no lesse magnified by the *Fathers* in the *Council* of *Florence*, Anno. 1436. All which had never set such an *Estimate* upon him in their severall Times, had he been an *Author* of no *Credit* as our *Author* makes him.

*Fuller.*

I shall hereafter have an higher esteem for *Metaphrastes*. However, to return to the words of *Baronius*, which (in the last Note) gave the occasion of this contest.

*In aliis multis IBI ab ipso positis errare eum certum est: It is certain that he hath erred in many things THERE delivered by him.* The *Animadvertor* in his Translation omitteth *THERE*, the most emphaticall word in the whole Sentence, seeing, granting *Metaphrastes* a good *Author* in other things, he is erroneous in this particular.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

I had now ended with *St. Peter*, but that I find him appear in a vision to *King Edward* the *Confessor*, and telling him, That he had preached the *Gospel* in *Brittain*, (occasioning thereby the foundation of the *Abbey* of *St. Peter* in *Westminster*.) To which our *Author* makes this answer, *To this vision pretended of Peter, we oppose the certain words of St. Paul, 1 Tim. 4. 1. Neither give heed to fables.*

What a pitty is it, that this apparition was not made, and the same tale told over again, to *Thomas Fuller* of *Hammersmith*, that so it might have found some credit with our *Author*, though with no body else.

*Fuller.*

Nay rather, what a pitty was it, that this Apparition of *St. Peter* was not made unto his name-fake *Peter*, (here the *Animadvertor*) and then all had been authentick indeed.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

For of this, *Thomas Fuller* our *Author* telleth us, (and telleth it in confirmation of some *Miracles* done by *King Henry* the sixth after his decease) that being a very honest man, he hapned into the company of some who had stoln some *Cattle*, for which he was condemned and executed; and being on the top of the *Ladder*, *King Henry* the sixth appeared unto him, and so ordered the matter, that he was not strangled with the *Rope*, but preserved alive: And finally, that in gratitude of so great a benefit, he repaired to that *Kings Tomb* in *Chertsey Abbey*, and there presented his humble thanks for that great deliverance. There being  
as



as good Authors for that Apparition of St. Peter, as of this of St. Henry. *Vel neutrum flammis ure, vel ure duos*: Either let both be believed for truths, or for falsehoods burn both.

Fuller.

Let the Eccho both in Latine and English answer for me, *Ure duos, Burn both*, for a brace of notorious falsehoods, and see who will shed a tear to quench the fire. As for the Apparition to Thomas Fuller of *Hammer-smith*, seeing afterwards the *Animadverſor* twitteth me therewith, we will till then defer our Answer thereunto.

Dr. Heylyn.

Leſs oppoſition meets the preaching of St. Joſeph of *Arimathea*, though it meeteth ſome. For notwithstanding that this Tradition be as generall, as univerſally received, as almoſt any other in the Chriſtian Church; yet our Author, being reſolved to let fly at all, declares it for a piece of *Novel Superſtition, diſguiſ'd with pretended Antiquity*. Better provided (as it ſeems) to diſpute this point than the Ambaſſadours of *Caſtile*, when they contended for precedency with thoſe of *England* in the Council of *Baſil*; who had not any thing to object againſt this Tradition of Joſeph's preaching to the *Brittains*, although the *Engliſh* had provoked them, by confuting their abſurd pretences for St. James his preaching to the *Spaniards*.

Fuller.

I never denied the *Hiſtoricall ground-work*, but the *Fabulous varniſh* of *Arimathea* Joſeph here preaching. My words run thus.

Church-Hiſtory, Pag. 6. Part 12.

*Yet becauſe the Norman Charters of Glaſſenbury refer to a Succeſſion of many antient Charters, beſtowed on that Church by ſeverall Saxon Kings, as the Saxon Charters relate to Brittiſh Grants in Intuition to Joſeph's being there; we dare not wholly deny the ſubſtance of the Story, though the Leaven of Monkery hath much ſwollen and puff'd up the circumſtance thereof.*

And to the impartiall peruſer of the connexion of my words, *Novell Superſtition, diſguiſed with pretended Antiquity*, relate not to the ſubſtance of the Story, but as it is preſented unto us with ſiſtitious embellishments.

And here I foretell the Reader, what he ſhall ſee within few pages performed, namely, that after the *Animadverſor* hath flung, and flounced, and flattered about, to ſhew his own activity and oppoſition, againſt what I (though never ſo well and warily) have written, at laſt he will calmly come up, and in this controverſie cloſe with my ſenſe, though not words, uſing (for the more credit) his own expreſſions.

Dr. Heylyn.

For firſt, our Author doth object in the way of ſcorn, that, fol. 6. *The relation is as ill accoutred with tacklings, as the Ship, in which it is affirmed that St. Phillip, St. Joſeph, and the reſt, were put by the Jews, into a Veſſell without Sails or Oars, with intent to drown them; and being toſſed with tempeſts in the midland Sea, at laſt ſafely landed at Marcelles in France, and thence afterwards made for England.*] No ſuch ſtrange piece of Errantry (if we mark it well) as to render the whole truth ſuſpected.

Fuller.

Not by way of ſcorn, Sir, but by way of diſlike and diſtruſt. The more I mark it, the more ſtrange piece of Errantry it ſeemeth, ſo that I cannot meet with a ſtranger.

Dr. Heylyn.

For firſt, we find it in the Monuments of elder times, that *Acriſius* King of *Argos* expoſed his daughter *Danae*, with her young ſon *Perſeus*, in ſuch a veſſell as this was, and as ill provided of all neceſſaries, to the open Seas; who, not-  
with

withstanding, by divine providence, were safely wafted to those parts of *Italy*, which we now call *Puglia*.

*Fuller.*

*Monuments of elder times!* What be your *AEs*, if these be your *Monuments*? Ask my fellow if I be a thief; ask a Poeticall Fable, if a Monkish Legend be a lyar. And what if *Danae* (the self-same forsooth which had a golden shoure rained into her lap) crossed from *Argos* in *Peloponesus*, to *Apulia*, now *Puglia*, almost in a streight line, and the narrowest part of the *Adriatick*. This doth not parallel the improbability of *Joseph* his voyage, in an unaccounted Ship, from some Port in *Palestine*, to *Marselles*, the way being ten times as far, full of flexures, and making of severall points; which costs our Sea-men some months in sailing, (though better accommodated). I confess, Gods power can bring any, a greater distance, with cordage of cobweb in a nut-shell, but no wise man will make his belief so cheap, to credit such a miracle, except it be better attested.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

And secondly, for the middle times, we have the LIKE story in an *Author* above all exception, even our *Author* himself, who telleth us, *lib. 6. fol. 265.* of our present History, that *King Athelstane* put his brother *Edwin* into a little Wherry or Cock-boat, without any tackling or furniture thereunto, to the end, that if the poor Prince perished, his wickedness might be imputed to the waves.

*Fuller.*

Thanks for the jeer premised. I am not the *Author*, but bare *Relater* of that story, obvious in all our *English Chronicles*. Nor is the story LIKE to that of *Joseph's*, except he had been drowned in his *Waftage* to *Marselles*, as this exposed Prince *Edwin* was in our *Narrow Seas*, (whether wilfully or casually, not so certain) his corps being taken up in *Flanders*. The resemblance betwixt stories chiefly consists in similitude of success; And what likeness betwixt a miserable death, and a miraculous deliverance?

*Dr. Heylyn.*

Our *Author* objecteth in the next place, that no writer of credit can be produced before the Conquest, who mentioneth *Joseph's* coming hither. ] For answer whereunto, it may first be said, that where there is a constant uncontrolled Tradition, there is most commonly the less care taken to commit it to Writing.

*Fuller.*

Less care implyeth some care, whereas here no care, but a pannick silence of all *Authors*, *Brittish*, *Saxon*, and *Christian*, for a thousand years together. Secondly, the *Animadvertor* might have done well, to have instanced in any one Tradition, (seeing he saith it is most commonly done) which is constant and uncontrolled, yet attested by no creditable *Author*; and then let him carry the cause.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

Secondly, that the Charters of *Glaffenbury*, relating from the *Norman* to the *Saxon* Kings, and from the *Saxons* to the *Brittains*, being all built upon *St. Joseph's* coming hither, and preaching here, may serve instead of many *Authors* bearing witness to it.

And thirdly, that *Frier Bale*, as great an enemy to the unwarrantable Traditions of the *Church of Rome*, as our *Author* can desire to have him, hath vouch'd two witnesses hereunto, that is to say, *Melkinus Avalonius*, and *Gildas Albanus*; whose Writings, or some fragments of them, he may be believed to have seen, though our *Author* hath not.

*Fuller.*



Fuller.

Nor the Animadverſor neither. *Bale* doth not intimate that he ever ſaw any part of them; and he uſeth to *Cackle*, when lighting on ſuch Eggs. But we collect from him and other Authors, that no credit is to be given to ſuch ſuppoſitious fragments.

Dr. Heylyn.

As for ſome circumſtances in the ſtory, that is to ſay, the dedicating of *Joſeph's* firſt Church to the Virgin *Mary*, the burying of his body in it, and the incloſing of the ſame with a large Church-yard; I look upon them as the products of Munkish ignorance, accommodated unto the faſhion of thoſe times which the writers liv'd in. There is ſcarce any Saint in all the Calendar, whoſe Hiſtory would not be ſubject to the like miſconſtructions, if the additaments of the middle and darker times ſhould be produced to the diſparagement of the whole Narration.

Fuller.

Now the Reader ſees my Prediction performed, viz. that after the Animadverſor had ſtounced about, he would cloſe with my ſenſe in his owne words. Is not this the very ſame in effect with what I ſaid, approving the Subſtance, but rejecting the Fabulous circumſtances of the ſtory of *Joſeph*? In all this he hath done juſt nothing, ſave onely ſwelled his Book, (though hollow within) to make it amount to a Saleable bigneſſe.

Dr. Heylyn.

But ſuch an Enemy Our Author is to all old Traditions, that he muſt needs have a blow at *Glaſſen-bury Thorne*, though before cut down by ſome Souldiers, as himſelf confeſſeth; like Sir *John Falſtaffe* in the Play, who to ſhew his Valour, muſt thruſt his ſword into the Bodies of thoſe men which were dead before.

Fuller.

Not to all old Traditions, good Animadverſor. Saint Paul\* ſaith, Hold the Traditions which you have been taught whether by Word, or our Epistle: ſuch Traditions as theſe, whether in Doctrine or Practice, I deſire to retaine. As for unwitneſſed Traditions, my Emnity is not ſuch, but in the heat thereof I can ſmile at them. The Animadverſor hath wronged me, and, The Comedian hath wronged Sir *John Falſtaffe*. He was a valiant Knight, famous for his Atcheivements in France, made (as the Hiſtory\* of St. George teſtifieth,) Knight of the Garter by King Henry the Sixt, and one who diſdained to violate the Concernments of the Dead. Nor have I been injurious to the Thorne of *Glaſſenbury living or Dead*, as will appeare.

\* Of Theſſal. 2. 15.

\* Pag. 329.

Dr. Heylyn.

The budding or bloſſoming of which Thorne, he accounts untrue (which, were it true, &c. Fol. 8.) affirming, from I know not whom, that it doth not punctually and critically bud on Christmas Day, but on the dayes neare it and about it. And were it no otherwiſe then ſo, the Miracle were not much the leſſe, then if it budded critically on Christmas Day, as I have heard from perſons of great Worth and credit dwelling neare the place, that indeed it did: though unto ſuch, as had a mind to decry the Feſtival, it was no very hard matter to belie the Miracle.

Fuller.

My words amount not to an abſolute Denial, but to ſome Diſſatisfaction. Parcel-Diffideliſy in matters of ſuch nature, I am ſure is no ſin. Mr. Taylor, burges for Briſtol in the long Parliament, was He who told me, that going thither purpoſely with his Kinsman it did not that year exactly bud on Christmas Day. A Perſon as improbable to decry the Feſtival, being a Colonel on the Kings ſide,

Q

(who

(who refusing quarter was killed under the walles of Bristol) ; so unlikely , if living, to have taken the LYE from the Pen of the *Animadversor*.

And now Reader, (seeing some mirth will not be amisse) know that, As I do not believe his report, who on a *Christmas day*, stroaking his Hand down his Doublet before, found there a great green *Quick-Set* suddenly grown, and Wondred thereat, untill he remembred, that the moulds of his *Bald-worne buttons* were made of *Glassen-bury Thorne* : so am I not of so fullen and Morose a Nature, as not to Credit what is generally and Credibly reported. Nor do my words Positively and Peremptorily conclude against the budding of this *Thorne*, but against the necessary relating thereof, to *Arimathean Joseph*, which I rather leave at large to some occult Quality in nature, paralleling it with the like, (never as yet fathered on any Saint the causer thereof,) the *Oake in Hamshire*. But enough, lest we occasion the altering of the Proverb from *de Lana Caprina*, into *de Corno Glastoniensi*.

### Dr. Heylyn.

In fine, our Author either is unwilling to have the Gospell as soon preach't here as in other places, or else we must have preachers for it from he knowes not whence. Such preachers we must have, as either drop down immediately from the Heavens, as *Diana's Image* is said to have done by the *Towne-Clark of Ephesus* ; or else must suddenly rise out of the earth, as *Tages* the first Sooth-sayer amongst *Thuscans*, is reported to have done by some antient Writers. And yet we cannot say of our Author neither, as *Lactantius* did of one *Acefilas* (if my memory fail not,) *Reſte hic aliorum ſuſtulit diſciplinam, ſed non reſte fundavit ſuam* ; that is to say, that though he had laid no good grounds for his own opinion, yet he had solidly confuted the opinions of others. Our Author hath a way by himſelfe, neither well skill'd in pulling down, or in building up.

### Fuller.

I have plucked nothing down but what would have fallen of it selfe, and thereby perchance hurt others, (I meane mis-inform them) as grounded on a foundred foundation. In place whereof I have erected, if not so faire, a more firme Fabrick, acknowledging, That Apostolicall meir did at first found the Gospell here, though (to use my \*vvords) *the British Church hath forgotten her own infancy, and who were her first God-Fathers*. Adding hereto that as God concealed the Body of \*Moses to prevent Idolatry ; So, to cut off from posterity all occasion of superstition, He suffered the memories of our *Primitive planters* to be buried in Obscurity.

1 Cent. p. 4.

Deu. 34. 6.

This is enough to satisfie any ingenuous person, who preferreth a modest truth before adventurous assertions, having in them much of fall-hood and more of uncertainty.

### Dr. Heylyn.

From the first conversion of the *Brittains*, proceed we now unto the second, as *Parsons* calls it, or rather from the first Preaching to the Propagation. The Christian Faith here planted by St. *Peter* or St. *Joseph* (or perhaps planted by the one, and watered by the other, in their severall times) had still a being in this Island till the time of *Lucius*. So that there was no need of a new Conversion, but onely of some able Labourers to take in the Harveſt. The Miracles done by some pious Christians induced King *Lucius* to send *Eleuanus* and *Meduinus* (two of that profession) to the Pope of Rome, requesting principally, that some Preachers might be sent to instruct him in the faith of Christ. Which the Pope did according to the Kings desire, sending *Faganus* and *Derwianus*, two right godly men, by whom much people were converted, the Temples of the gods converted into Christian Churches, the Hierarchy of Bishops settled, and the whole building raised on so good a foundation, that it continued undemolish't till the time of the Saxons.

Fuller.



Fuller.

This is the Sum and Substance of the Story of K. *Lucius*, which the Animadverſor hath breviated, and with whom I concur therein. It never came into my thoughts to doubt the ſubſtance, but deny ſome circumſtances thereof. My owne \* expreſſion is, that the whole Bulk thereof is not to be *Refuted*, but *Refined*, and to this I adhere.

Church Hiſt.  
v. I. pag. 10.

Dr. Heylyn.

And in the ſumming up of this ſtory, our Author having refuted ſome petit Arguments which had been answered to his hand (though much miſtaken by the way in taking *Diotarus* King of *Galatia*, for a King of *Sicilie*, fol. 10. ) gives us ſome other in their ſtead, which he thinks unanswerable.

Fuller.

I deny not that P. *Eleutherius* might or did ſend a Letter to K. *Lucius*, but I juſtly ſuſpect the Letter now extant to be but pretended and forged. I never thought (by the way, how came the Animadverſor to know my thoughts,) my Arguments unanswerable, but now I ſay they are unanswered, ſtanding in full force, notwithstanding any alledged by the Animadverſor to the contrary. I confeſſe a Memory-miſtake of *Sicilia* for *Galatia*: and as it is the firſt fault he hath detected in my Book; ſo ſhall it be the firſt by me (God Willing) amended in the next Edition.

Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author Firſt objects againſt the Popes answer to the King, that Fol. 11. *It relates to a former letter of King Lucius wherein he requested of the Pope to ſend him a Copy or Collection of the Roman Lawes, which being at that time in force in the Ile of Britain, was but actum agere.*] But certainly though thoſe parts of Britain in which *Lucius* reign'd, were governed in part (and but in part) by the Lawes of *Rome*, yet were the Lawes of *Rome*, at that time more in number, and of a far more generall practice, then to be limited to ſo narrow a part of their Dominions. Two thouſand Volumes we find of them in *Juſtinians* time, out of which, by the help of *Theophilus*, *Trebonianus*, and many other learned men of that noble faculty, the Emperour compos'd that Book or body of Law which from the univerſality of its comprehension, we ſtill call the *Pandects*.

Fuller.

One who hath taken but two *Turnes* in *Trinity hall Court* in *Cambridge*, knows full well what *PANDECTS* are, and why ſo called. All this is but *praefatory*: I waite for the answer to the Objection ſtill to come.

Dr. Heylyn.

In the next place it is objected, that

*This letter mounts King Lucius to too high a Throne, making him the Monarch or King of Britain, who neither was the Supreme nor ſole King here, but partial and ſubordinate to the Romans.*] This we acknowledge to be true, but no way prejudicial to the cauſe in hand. *Lucius* both was and might be call'd the King of Britain, though Tributary and Vaſſal to the Roman Emperors, as the two *Baliols* *John* and *Edward* were both Kings of Scotland, though Homagers and Vaſſals to *Edward* the firſt, and third, of England, the Kings of *Naples* to the Pope, and thoſe of *Austria* and *Bohemia* to the German Emperors.

Fuller.

A Blank is better then ſuch writing to no purpoſe. For firſt, both the *Baliols* in their ſeverall times were (though not SUPREME) SOLE Kings of Scotland. So  
were

\* Seb. Munsterus de Germania.

were the *Kings* of *Naples*, and the *King* of *Austria*, (there never being but one, the first, and Last, viz. \* *Fredoritus Leopoldus*) and the *Kings* of *Bohemia* in their respective *Dominions*. Not so *Lucius*, who was neither *Supreme* nor *Sole King* of *Brittain*.

Besides the *Baliols* being *Kings* of *Scotland*, did never *Style* themselves, (or were *Styled* by other) *Kings* of *Brittaine*. The *Kings* of *Naples* never entituled themselves *Kings* of *Italy*: Nor the *Kings* of *Austria* and *Bohemia* ever wrote themselves, (or were written to,) as *Kings* of *Germany*.

Whereas *Lucius*, (Ruler onely in the South West-part of this *Ile*,) is in this Letter made *King* of *Brittain*, more then came to his share; an Argument that the *Forger* thereof was unacquainted with the *Constitution* of his *Kingdom*. And this just Exception stands firme against the Letter, what ever the *Animadvertor* hath alledged in the excuse thereof.

### Dr. Heylyn.

Nor doth the next objection give us any trouble at all, that is to say, that The Scripture quoted in that Letter is out of St. Hieroms Translation; which came more then a hundred years after: ] Unless it can be prov'd withall (as I think it cannot) that Hierom followed nor, in those Texts, those old Translations, which were before receiv'd and used in the Western Churches.

### Fuller.

See the different tempers of men, how some in point of Truth, are of a tenderer constitution than others. The \* *Primate Armach* was so sensible of the strength of this reason, that it made him conclude against the authenticalness of the Letter.

### Dr. Heylyn.

Lesse am I mov'd with that which follows, viz.

That this letter not appearing till a thousand years after the death of Pope Eleutherius, might probably creep out of some Monks Cell, some four hundred years since. ] Which allegation being admitted, (the Monks Cell excepted,) it makes no more to the discredit of the letter which we have before us, then to the undervaluing of those excellent Monuments of Piety and Learning, which have been recovered of late times from the dust and moths of ancient Libraries. Such Treasures like money long lock't up, is never thought lesse profitable when it comes abroad. And from what place soever it first came abroad, I am confident it came not out of any Monks Cell; that generation being then wholly at the Popes devotion, by consequence not likely to divulge an Evidence, so manifestly tending to the overthrow of his pretensions. The Popes about four hundred years since were mounted to the height of that power and Tyranny which they claimed as Vicars unto Christ. To which there could not any thing be more plainly contrary then that passage in the Pope's letter, whereto he tells the King, That he was Gods Vicar in his owne Kingdom (vos estis Vicarius Dei in Regno vestro, as the Latin hath it.) Too great a secret to proceed from the Cell of a Monk, who would have rather forg'd ten Decretals to uphold the Popish usurpations over Sovereign Princes, then published one onely (whether true or false) to subvert the same. Nor doth this Letter onely give the King an empty Title, but such a Title as imports the exercise of the chief Ecclesiastical Power within his Dominions. For thus it followeth in the same; The people and the folk of the Realm of Britain be yours, whom if they be divided, ye ought to gather in concord and peace, to call them to the faith and law of Christ, to cherish and maintain them, to rule and govern them, so as you may reign everlastingly with him whose Vicar you are. So far the very words of the letter, as our Author rendereth them, which favour far more of the honest simplicity of the Primitive Popes, then the impostures and supposititious issues of the latter times.

Fuller.



## Fuller.

I confesse some pretious pieces of *Antiquity*, long *Latent* in *Obscurity*, have at last broke forth into the *Light*, with no little *advantage* to *Learning*. But then such were *intire Books*, and we know, how, when, where, and by whom, they were found out, and brought forth. Whereas this *loose Letter* secretly and slyly slid into the *World*, unattended with any such *Cicumstances* to attest the *Genuinenesse* thereof. Children casually lost, are no whit the *lesse Legitimate*; and beloved the more, when found and owned of their *Parents*. But give me leave to suspect that *Babe a Bastard*, which is left on a *bulk*, or under a *Stall*; no *Father* being found, or *Mother*, to maintaine it. A *Presumption* that this *Letter of Elutherius* is *supposititious*.

I confesse, this pretended *Letter of Lucius* hath something in it, which doth *ad and personate primitive simplicity*, (as that passage of *Regal power* in *Church-matters*;) but more which doth *practise the Monkish ignorance*, of later times. There were lately false twenty Shilling pieces, (commonly called *Morgans*) coyned by a cunning and cheating Chymist, whose part without the *Rind* was good *Gold*, and would endure the touch, whilst that within was base as but *double gilded Brasse*. Such, this *Letter of Lucius*; some part whereof will endure the *Test*, the other not: the *Monk*, who made it, pretending something of *antiquity*, (so to palliate the deceit); but having more of the *Novelty* of the middle age. He lived in some six hundred years since.

May the Reader be pleased to take notice, that the *Animadvertor* hath silently passed by, the strongest Argument to shatter the credit of this *Letter* alledged by me, and taken from a phrase unknown in that Age, yet used in the *Letter*, even *MANU TENERE*, to *Maintain*, or defend. This the *Animadvertor* slips over in silence, and that I believe for *nineteen reasons*, whereof this was one, because He himselve was unable to answer it, and knew *Criticks* would laugh at him, if affirming those words, in that sense, contemporary with *Pope Eleutherius*. Herein, He appears like a *Dunkerker*, who delights to prey on poore *Marchants Ships* passing on in their *Calling*, but meeting an *English Man of War*, He can *look Big*, and fairly give him the *goe-By*. He finds it more facile to *carpe* an easie inoffensive passage, then to *confute* what hath difficulty, and strength of reason therein.

I resume what I said before, and what the *Animadvertor* hath *gain-said* to no purpose, viz. that this *Story of K. Lucius* is not to be *Refused* but *Refined*, and the *drosse* is to be put from the good *Metall*; or (as my own words also are,) the good *Corn* therein sifted from the *Chaffe*; and, amongst the *Chaffe*, I have cast away this *Letter*. But if the *Animadvertor* loves to eat both *Corn* and *Chaffe*, much good may his *Dier* do him, and let Him and *Horse* feed on their *Loafe* together.

## Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author tells us, fol. 9. that he had *ventured on this story* with much *aversnesse*; and we dare believe him. He had not else laboured to discredit it in so many particulars, and wilfully (that I say no worse) suppressed, &c.

## Fuller.

Can he say worse than *wilfully*, except it be *Maliciously*? Seeing, in my conscience, I believe the *Story* of the conversion of *K. Lucius*: though this *Letter*, and some other circumstances seem to me improbable.

I enter'd on this *story with this much aversnesse*, as finding much difficulty, and fearing not to give satisfaction therein to my self, and others.

I see not how it can be inferred from such my *aversnesse*, that I therefore laboured to discredit the *story in so many particulars*.

If this be a good consequence, I desire the Reader to remember, what the *Animadvertor* hath written in the latter end of the introduction to his *Animadversions* on my *Book*, viz.

*I must needs confesse withall, that I did never enter more unwillingly upon any undertaking, then I did on this.*

May I not then, by the same Logick, conclude his endeavouring to disparage my Book: because he entered thereon so unwillingly?

**Dr. Heylyn.**

The best part of the Evidence in the words of *Beda*; who being no friend unto the *Brittains*, hath notwithstanding done them right in this great businesse. And from him take the story in these following words; *Anno ab Incarnatione Domini, 156. &c.* In the 156. year after Christs Nativity, *Marcus Antonius Verus* together with *Aurelius Commodus* his Brother, did in the fourteenth place from *Augustus Caesar*, undertake the government of the Empire. In whose times when as *Eleutherius* a godly man was Bishop of the Church of *Rome*, *Lucius* King of the *Brittains* sent unto him, *Obsecrans ut per eius mandatum Christianus efficeretur*, intreating by his means to be made a *Christian*. Whose vertuous desire herein was granted; and the faith of Christ being thus received by the *Brittains*, was by them kept inviolate and undefiled untill the time of *Diocletian*. This is the substance of the story, as by him delivered, true in the main, though possibly there may be some mistake in his Chronology, as in a matter not so canvassed as it hath been lately.

**Fuller.**

I entered a grand Jury of Authors, which mentioned the Conversion of *Lucius*, amongst whom *Bede* is one. I expressed none of them, (as I had no cause) in their words at length; neither can I properly be said to suppress any of them, solemnly giving in their names, and their severall Dates, which they assigne to that memorable action.

**Dr. Heylyn.**

Now to proceed unto our Author, he tells us. Fol. 10. out of *Jeffery of Monmouth*, That at this time there were in England twenty eight Cities, each of them having a *Flamen* or *Pagan Priest*; and three of them, namely *London*, *York*, and *Cacr-lion* in *Wales*, had *Arch-flamens*, to which the Rest were subjeſſed: and *Lucius* placed Bishops in the *Rome* of the *Flamens*, and *Arch-bishops*, *Metropolitans* in the places of *Arch-flamens*; concluding in the way of *Scorne*, that his *Flamines*, and *Arch-flamines* seem to be *Flams* and *Arch-flams*, even notorious *False-hoods*.

**Fuller.**

Pfal. 1.

I would not willingly sit in the seat of the \* *Scorner*, and if the *Animadverſor* by his force will thrust me down into it, I will (God willing) rise up againe, and leave the place empty to himſelfe to stand or sit therein, *Pro libero ſuo Arbitrio*.

I ſay no more, nor ſo much, as that worthy Knight *Sr. Henry Spelman* (ſo great an *Antiquary*, that it is *Questionable*, whether his *Industry*, *Judgment*, or *Humility* were the *Greatest*) hath ſaid on the ſame Subject. Who having learnedly confuted this Report of *Geſſery of Monmouth*, concludeth with the cauſe of his *Miſtake*, relying on ſome ſuppoſitious *Epistles*.

*Sr. H. Spelman de Concilijs Page 13.*

*Gaufrido autem atque alijs, qui Flaminum. Archiflaminum, et Protoſflaminum Commento capiuntur, impoſuiſſe videtur Gratiani authoritas, Epistolis munita S Lucij, &c.*

See! He calleth that *Commentum*, which our *Dictionaries* Engliſh a *Flat. Lye*, which I have mitigated into a *Flamme*, as importing in common Diſcourſe a *Falsehood*, which hath more of *vanity*, then *Miſchiefe* therein.

**Dr.**



Dr. Heylyn.

And it is well they do but seem so, it being possible enough that they may seem *Fallhoods* to our Author, even notorious *Fallhoods*; though they seem true enough to others, even apparent Truths.

Fuller.

They seem so also to learned Sr. *Henry Spelman*, lately alledged; and to the Reverend Arch-bishop of *Armagh*, and many others.

Dr. Heylyn.

And first though *Jeffery* of *Monmouth*, seem to deserve no credit in this particular, where he speaks against our Author's sense; yet in another place where he comes up to his Desires, he is otherwise thought of, and therefore made the Fore-man of the Grand-inquest against *Augustine* the Monk, whom he enditeth for the Murther of the Monks of *Bangor*. And certainly, if *Jeffery* may be believed when he speaks in Passion, when his *Welch-Blood* was up, as our Author words it, as one that was concerned in the Cause of his Country-Men; he may more easily be believed in a Cause of so remote Antiquity, where neither Love nor Hatred, or any other prevalent Affection had any power or reason to divert him from the Way of Truth.

Fuller.

It is usuall with all Authors, sometimes to close with the Judgments of the same Person, from whom they afterwards on just Cause may dissent; and should not this Liberty be allowed me, to like or leave, in *Jeffery Monmouth*, what I think fitting? The Animadverſor concurrereth with Bishop *Godwin*, that the DRUIDES instructed the Britons in the worship of one God; yet will not be concluded with his Judgement, when averring the Letter fathered on *Eleutherius* not to favour of the Style of that Age. Yea, when I make for him, he can alledge twenty Lines together, out of my Book, against *H. le Strange*; though at other times, when he hath served his Turne of me, I am the Object of his sleighting and Contempt.

Now when as the IN-ANIMADVERTOR (for now I must so call him for his *Carelesnesse*;) citeth a place in my Book, viz. [Lib. 2. Fol. 63.] that I make *J. Monmouth* the Foreman of the great inquest against *Augustine* the Monk, he is much mistaken therein. For in the place by him cited, I Impannell a Grand Jury, (amongst whom *J. Monmouth* is neither Fore-man, nor any Man) of Judicious Readers consisting of twenty four. As false is it what he addeth, as if in that Triall I attributed much to the judgment of *J. Monmouth*, who therein is only produced as a *Witnesse*, and a Verdict brought in, point-Blank against his Evidence, acquitting *Augustine* the Monk of the Murther, whereof *Monmouth* did accuse him.

Dr. Heylyn.

And secondly, though *Jeffery* of *Monmouth* be a Writer of no great credit with me, when he stands single by himselfe; yet when I find him seconded and confirmed by others, I shall not brand a truth by the name of fallhood, because he reports it. Now that in *Brittain* at that time there were no fewer then eight and twenty Cities, is affirmed by *Beda*. *Henry* of *Huntington* not only agrees with him in the number, but gives us also the names of them, though where to find many of them it is hard to say. That in each of these Cities was some Temple dedicated to the Pagan Gods, that those Temples afterwards were imploy'd to the use of Christians, and the Revenues of them assign'd over to the maintenance of the Bishops and other Ministers of the Gospel, hath the concurrent testimony of approved Authors; that is to say, *Matthew* of *Westminster* out of *Gildas*, Anno 187. *Rodolph de Diceto*, cited by the learned Primat of *Armagh* in his

his Book *De Primordiis Eccles. Brit.* cap. 4. *Gervase of Tilbury*, *ibid.* cap. 6. And for the *Flamines*, and *Arch-flamines*, they stand not onely on the credit of *Jeffery of Monmouth*, but of all our owne Writers, who speak of the foundation of the antient Bishopricks, even to *Polydor Virgil*.

*Fuller.*

I concurre with the *Animadvertor* in the number of the Citties in Brittain. Also I do not deny but that *K. Lucius* might place Bishops in some (perchance half) of them, which I believe is all which the *Animadvertor* doth desire. Only as to Bishops and *Arch-bishops* exactly substituted in the *Individual places of Flamens* and *Arch-flamens*, my beliefe cannot come up to the height thereof. I find that *Giraldus Cambrensis* and other Authors of that age, (though concurring with *J. Monmouth* in *Lucius* his *Episcopating* of Citties,) make not any mention of these *Arch-flamens*.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

Nor want there many forrain Writers who affirm the same, beginning with *Martinus Polonus*, who being esteemed no friend to the Popedom (because of the Story of *Pope Jone* which occurs in his Writings) may the rather be believ'd in the story of *Lucius*. And he agrees with *Jeffery of Monmouth* in all parts of the story, as to the *Flamines* and *Arch-flamines*, as do also many other of the *Roman* Writers which came after him.

*Fuller.*

Nothing more usuall then for forrain Writers, with *implicite faith*, to take things on the credit of such who have wrote the History of their own Country. But on the Confutation of the *Leading Author*, the rest sink of course of themselves.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

But where both our Author and some others have rais'd some objections against this part of the History, for Answer thereunto I refer the Reader to the learned and laborious Work of *Francis Mason* late Archdeacon of Norfolk, *De Ministerio Anglicano*, the sum whereof in brief is this, *Licet in una urbe multi Flamines*, that though there were many *Flamines* in one City, yet was there onely one which was called *Pontifex* or *Primus Flaminum*; the Pope or principall of the *Flamines*; of which kind one for every City, were those whom our Historians speak of. And for the *Archi-Flamines* or *Proto-Flamines*, though the name occurre not in old *Roman* Writers, yet were there some in power and Authority above the rest, who were entituled *Primi Pontificum* (as indeed *Cais* by that name is called in *Beda*) which is the same in sence with *Arch-flamines* although not in sound. All I shall further add is this, that if these 28 Citties were not all furnished with Bishops in the time of *Lucius*, for vvhom it vvas impossible to spread his armes and expresse his power over all the South parts of the Island; yet may the honour of the vwork be ascribed to him, because begun by his encouragement, and perfected by his example; as *Romulus* is generally esteemed for the Founder of *Rome*, although the least part of that great City vvas of his Foundation.

*Fuller.*

But, whereas both the *Animadvertor* and some others conceive their Answers satisfactory to such Objections raised against this part of the History; I refer the Reader unto *Sr. Henry \*Spelman*, and to the Arch-bishop of \* *Armagh*, both as learned and Judicious Antiquaries as ever our Land enjoyed.

These it seemes were not satisfied, with such Solutions, as *Mr. Mason* produceth against those Objections, because (writing later than *Mr. Mason*) they in their judgments declare themselves against *J. Monmouth* herein.

\* In his Coun-  
cels.  
\* In his Pri-  
mord. Eccl.  
Angl.



## Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author has not yet done vvith *Lucius*. For admitting the story to be true, he disallowes the turning of the *Pagan Temples* into *Christian Churches*, vvhich he centureth as the putting of new Wine into old Vessels, which afterwards savour'd of the Cask, Christianity hereby getting a smack of Heathen ceremonies. But in this point the Primitive Christians were as wise as our Author, though they were not so nice. Who without fearing any such smack, accommodated themselves in many ceremonies to the *Gentiles*, and in some to the *Jewes*; that being all things to all men, they might gain the more, as in fine they did: which notwithstanding our Author hereupon inferreth.

## Fuller.

I onely humbly tendered my weak Opinion herein, that Religion was a loset by such mixtures. If it findeth no welcome in the brest of the *Animadvertor* and others, no hurt is done; let it fairly return into his Bosome, who (it seems) first gave it a being, though I could cite most Pious and Learned Authors of the same Judgement. But for the present let all the weight of the guilt light on my selfe alone.

## Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, Fol. 13. *They had better built new Nests for the holy Dove, and not have lodg'd it where Schriech-owls and unclean Birds had formerly been harboured.*] A pretty piece of new Divinity, and such as favours strongly of the Modern *Anabaptist*; such as not onely doth reproach the practise of most pious Antiquity, but layes a sure ground for the pulling down of all our Churches (as having been abus'd to Popish Superstitions in the former times) if ever that encreasing faction should become predominant. What pitty is it that our Author had not liv'd and preach't this Doctrine in King Edwards time, that the Parochiall Churches and Cathedrals being sent after the Abbies, new Nests might have been built for the Dove in some tree or other, under the shade whereof the people might assemble to their devotions: and not new Nests provided only, but new feathers also, the vestments prescribed to the Ministers by the Church of England, being condemned and disallowed by the Puritan party, because in use formerly with the Priests of the Church of Rome. More of this stuffe, but of a more dangerous consequence to the publick peace, we shall see hereafter.

## Fuller.

I do not quarrell with the posture of my Nativity, knowing God hath \* de- <sup>\* Act. 17. 23.</sup> termined the times fore-appointed and the bounds of their Habitation. Nor would I have my being antedated in the dayes of K. Edward the sixth, whereby my Soul should be degraded into a dimmer Light, then what now I live in.

Had I lived in His Reigne, I know not what I would have done, seeing one may be left in the Labyrinth of his owne Heart. But though I know not what I would have done, I know what I should have done, viz. perswaded, to my power, all people to be sensible of the vast difference betwixt Heathen-Temples and Christian-Churches.

The former were the Styes of swine, yea the Dens of Devils, profaned to the foul Idols of Pagans.

The latter were dedicated to the true God, and the memory of his glorious Saints, out of zeal, and well-intended Devotion. And though the same were abused by superstition, yet the substantiall use of them might remain, when their accidental abuse was removed, and might be continued for God's service without any Sin; not to say, could not be aliened from it, without some sacriledge.

## Dr. Heylyn.

We have now done at last vvith the story of *Lucius*, and must next follow  
S our

our Author unto that of *Amphibalus*, in prosecution whereof he telleth us of a great slaughter of *Christians* in or near the City of *Litchfield*, from thence so denominated, of vvhich thus saith he;

Fol. 19. *This relation is favoured by the name of Litchfield, which in the British tongue signifies a Golgotha, or a place bestrewed with skuls.* ] It's true indeed that *Litchfield*, or *Licidfield*, as *Beda* calleth it, is made by *John Roffe* to signifie *Cadaverum Campus*, or the field of dead bodies. But that it doth so signifie in the *British* language, I do more then doubt, the termination of the vvord being meerly *Saxon*, as in *Hefensfield*, *Cock-field*, *Camps-field*, and many others. As little am I satisfied in the *Etymon* of the name of *Maiden-head*, which he ascribes unto the worshipping of the head of one of those many *Maidens* vvhich vvere martyred with *Ursula* at *Colen*, fol. 36. For vvhich though he cite *Camden* for his Author (following therein, but not approving the old Tradition) yet vvhen I find in the same *Camden*, that this Town was formerly called *Maiden-hith*, that anciently there vvvas a ferry near the place vvhere the Town now stands, and that *Hith* in the old *Saxon* tongue, did signifie a Wharf, Haven, or landing place, I have some reason to believe, that the Town took this name from the Wharf or Ferry belonging at that time to some neighbouring *Nunnery*, or to some private *Maidens* dwelling thereabout, vvho then received the profits of it. Just so, *Queen-Hith* in *London* took that appellation, because the profits of that Wharf vvere antiently accompted for, to the *Queens* of *England*; and *Maiden-bradly* in *Wiltshire*, vvvas so denominated because belonging to one of the inheretresses of *Manasses Basset*, a most noble personage in his time, who founded a House here for *Maiden Lepers*.

**Fuller.**

As for *Litchfield*, thereof hereafter. But whether it be *Maiden-head*, or *Maiden-hith*, is not a straw matter to me, who cited the words out of *Camdens* Latine *Britannia*: which is more properly *Camden*, than the English translation thereof.

**Dr. Heylyn.**

But to return again to *Leitch-field*, It must needs seem as strange to my judicious Reader, that one part of it should be borrowed from the *Brittains*, and the other from the *Saxons*; as it seems strange unto our Author, and that justly too, that *Cern* in *Dorsetshire* should anciently be called *Cernel*, from the Latine vvord *Cerno*, vvhich signifies to see, and the *Hebrew* vvord *El* signifying God, fol. 67.

**Fuller.**

Nothing more usuall, than for the same vvord to bear *parly par pale*, two languages. But such mixtures onely are made in such places, vvhere those two Languages have entred common together.

And this is the reason that disapproveth the probability of *Cern-el*, because *Hebrew* and *Latine* never incorporated together, *Greek*, as I may say, being interposed betwixt them.

But such Conjunctions of two Languages, vvhich, in some sort, indented one another, are frequent and familiar.

Our Author lately presented us vvith two half-Greek, half-Latine *Archiflamens*, and *Proto-flamens*.

He also just now mentioned a vvord half French, half Saxon, *Camps-field*.

Many towns names in England are half Saxons, half British; *Up-Avon*, *Neather-Avon*, two villages in *Wiltshire*. *Avon* being a river in the *British* tongue.

To put all out of doubt, the Reader may rely on the judgement of this my vvorthy friend, vvwhose Letter I have here caused to be inserted,

Mr.



Mr. Fuller.

As touching the Elymology of the City of Litchfield, I can give you no satisfactory accompt; being not well skill'd in the Saxcon Tongue. But if Mr. John Rosse hath ground for his Campus Cadaverum, I conceive he deduced it from the British Tongues and Saxon. For in our British language, Llaith signifies death, as may be seen in severall antient British Authors, as Taliesin and others. Lleithfa may well bear a place of slaughter as well as lladdfa; the word lladden in the British is the same with occidere in the Latine, ma and Man, denotes a place: and ma, being joyned with lleith or lladd, the m by the rules of the British language turns into f as lladdfa lleithfa lladdfaes. Maes is the ordinary name for a field in our Language, and so the old Saxons, which were not ignorant of our language might well make use of their owne word field and joyne it with the British lleith: which in proceffe and corruption of time came to be Litchfield. You must note that when the Saxons met with our ll, they wrote and pronounced it alwayes as one single l.

Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, Fol. 20. I fear that learned pen hath gone too far, who makes him founder of a Bishoprick at York, and styleth him an Emperour surpassing in all virtue and Christian piety.] The learned pen here spoken of, is that of judicious Camden, whose character of Constantius Chlorus our Author in this place will not let passe without some censure. That he did found (or rather re-found) a Bishoprick in the City of York, I am confident Camden had not said without very good grounds, though on what grounds he said it, I am yet to seek. A Bishoprick and a Bishop of York we find on good Record within few years after; Eborius the Bishop of that City subscribing to the Council of Arles in the time of Constantine, the Son and next successor of Constantius Chlorus. And that he was a Prince of surpassing virtue, is generally agreed upon by all Historians, both Pagans and Christians. The Question then will be onely this, Whether he did surpass also in Christian piety, which our Author will not otherwise grant, but by our Saviours Argument onely, concluding those to be on our part who are not against us; Constantius doing no other good unto Christianity, but that he did not do it harm. A censure not agreeable to so good an Emperour, who though he were no through-paced Christian, yet did he both favour their Religion, and protect their persons, as Eusebius testifies de vita Constantini, lib. 1. cap. 12. And not so onely, but as our Author himselfe confesseth, he both permitted and preserved them who would rebuild the decayed Christian Churches. If to preserve the persons of Christians in the exercise of their Religion, to have them near unto him in places of greatest trust and eminence, to suffer them to rebuild their Churches and defend them in it, be not the doing of some good unto Christianity, more then the doing it no harm, let our Author carry it, and Camden bear the blame of his needlesse Courtship.

Fuller.

If at the end of this long Note, the Animadvertor at Last had demonstrated that Constantius Chlorus was a thorough-paced Christian; the Reader, and I my selfe, would not have grudged our attention unto it.

But what is the Total sum of what he saith? It amounts to just nothing, only to show that (which I confessed) he did some good (besides no hurt) to Christianity. What is this to prove the words of Learned, (but here mistaken) Mr. Camden.

An Emperour surpassing in all Virtues and Christian Piety.

The Animadvertor should first have proved that this Constantius had passed into Christianity before he was surpassing therein; a thing which He, and all his Friends, are never able to evidence by any authentick Author.

In a word, As Chlorus or YELLOW (so his Name in Greek) is a Middle colour betwixt white and Black, below the former, and above the latter in Brightnesse; So this Emperour, (well answering his name,) was indeed much better than most

most *Pagans*, and yet far short (so far as by any humane Author can be collected) of a true *Christian*.

Dr. Heylyn.

But this is not the first time, in which our Author hath clasht with *Camden*, and I see it will not be the last, by that which followeth. For speaking on the *by how* Wolves first entred into *England*, considering that Merchants would not bring them, and that they could not swim over themselves, he adds these words, *viz.*

Fol. 25. *which hath prevailed so far with some, as to conceive this now an Island, originally annexed to the Continent.*] It seems that though some so conceive it, yet our Author doth not. And yet he cannot chuse but know that those whom he doth pass so slightly over by the name of *some* (as if not worthy to be notified by their proper names) are the most eminent and renowned Antiquaries of these latter times. Amongst which if I reckon *Camden* for one, and a chief one too, I should but do him right, and not wrong the rest. Whose arguments to prove the point; he that lists to see, may find them at large laid down in his description of *Kent*; which when our Author can confute (as I doubt he cannot) he may then slight it over as a thing *conceived*, and *conceived* only by *some* men not worth the naming. Till then, I shall behold it as a matter not *conceived* but prov'd, and so must he.

Fuller.

*It seems ] multa videntur quæ non sunt.* I am ashamed to return an answer to this needlesse and impertinent Note. *S. Hierom* honoured not *Cicero* more then I reverence Mr. *Camden*.

Dr. Heylyn.

I should here end this Chapter and this Book together, but that I find a trifling error not worth our notice, but that I would set all things right as they come before me; which is the placing of the Emperor *Constantine* in the Catalogue of those who commonly pass under the name of the 9 Worthies; and this saith he.

Fuller.

Not so. He should have ended this Chapter and Book before, and not have inserted his last impertinent note. *Num Aquila capit muscas?*

Dr. Heylyn.

Fol. 39. *Is more then comes to the proportion of Britain; that amongst but nine in the whole World, two should prove Natives of this Island, Constantine and Arthur.*] That *Arthur* goes for one of the Worthies, I shall easily grant, and I shall grant too, that in the opinion of some writers this Island gave birth unto another of them, namely *Guy of Warwick*. His Knight Sir *Guy* one of the nine, we touch but by the way, saith *Warner* in his *Albions England*.

Fuller.

Perchance *Guy of Warwick* may be made one of the nine *English* worthies. But I believe none ever made him one of the NINE GENERALL WORTHYES little known beyond the Seas, no General [not to say *Prince*] as the rest of his *Form-fellowes*, and fam'd onely for his personal performances.

Dr. Heylyn.

But in the common estimate they are reckoned thus; that is to say, three *Jewes*, 1. *Joshua*, 2. *David*, 3. *Judas Maccabeus*; three *Gentiles*, 4. *Hector* of *Troy*, 5. *Alexander* the great, and 6. *Julius Caesar*; three *Christians*, 7. *Arthur* of *Brittain*, 8. *Charlemain* of *France*, and 9. *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*. But I condemn my selfe for mingling this poor piece of *Errantry* with such serious matters, though the necessity of following my Leader as he goeth may excuse me in it.

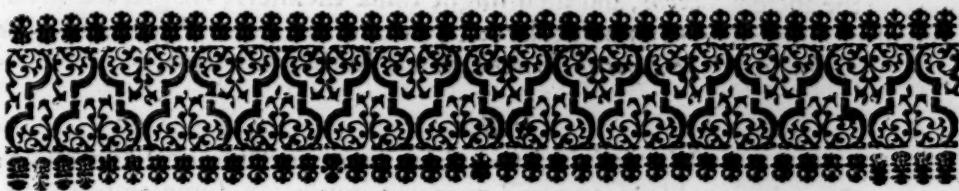
Fuller.

The words of the Animadvertor in common estimate intimate, that they are not constantly so accounted. The seven wise men of *Greece* are variously reckoned up, as severall Authors fancied them. So also are the nine *Worthyes*; and if *worth* makes a *worthy*, *Constantine* deserved a place amongst them, being in time before any, in valour behind none of the three *Christians*. Yea as *Sappho* is adjected by \* some to the nine *Muses*, and made a *Tenth*; so let there be ten *worthyes*, rather than *Constantine* should be excluded. But enough hereof, Poets and Painters being the most staple Authors in this point.

PART.

\* *Lesbia pieris*  
*Sappho* soror  
addita *Musis*,  
*Aulonius*.





## THE SECOND BOOK.

*Of the Conversion of the Saxons, and that which followed thereupon till the Norman Conquest.*

Dr. Heylin.

**I**N order to the Conversion of the *Saxons*, our Author begins (as he had done before in that of the *Britans*) with the unhappy condition of that People in the state of *Gentilism*.

Fuller.

Here is an intimation, as If I had mistook my *Epoches* in my Church History of *Britans* or *Saxons*, or both, beginning them *too soon or too late*. I avouch it done in due time: and so passe from the *Animadvertors* *snarling* to his *biting*.

Dr. Heylin.

In the description whereof, he omitteth that which was indeed their greatest unhappiness, that is to say, their barbarous and inhumane sacrifices of men and women unto two of their Idols. For *Camden* telleth us of their god called *Wooden*, that they used to procure his favour by sacrificing unto him men *and* Camd. in Brit. fol. 135. live: And I have read in *Verstegan* (if my memory fail not) a man inferiour to none, in the Antiquities of this Nation, that at their return from any conquest, they us'd to sacrifice the noblest of their Captives to their Idol *Thur*. In this not much inferior to the *Palestinians*, in their sacrifices to *Moloch*; or to the *Carthaginians*, in the like abominable sacrifices to *Saturn*; or to the *Scythians*, in the like to *Diana* LaHam. lib. 16 cap. 21. *Taurica*; or finally, to the *Galls*, in theirs to *Hafur* and *Tentate*, their own National Deities. But not to lay at our Authors charge these small sins of *Omission*, we must next see whether he be not guilty of some sin of *Commission* also.

Fuller.

See here the signal *Charity* of the *Animadvertor*! After he had *layed* the charge as heavy as he could, (and *heavier* than he *should*) he candidly comes off, he *will not lay to my charge* such small faults of *Omission*.

I was not bound to particularize in all the Saxon prodigious impieties, all being included in that my general expression, \* *ABOMINABLE* (the proper *Scripture-word* in *this case*) in the *Rites and Ceremonies of their Adoration*. Lib. 3. pag. 59

Dr. Heylin.

For making a general muster of the *Saxon Gods*, and shewing how they were dispos'd of in relation to the dayes of the week, he concludes it thus: Fol. 55. *And thus we see the whole week bescattered with Saxon Idols, whose Pagan gods were the God-fathers of the dayes, and gave them their names.* Not the *whole week*, though the greatest part thereof was thus bescattered. *Sunday* and *Munday* being so call'd in reference to the Sun and Moon, or else in correspondence to the names of *Dies Solis* and *Dies Lune*, which they found given by the *Romans* at their entrance here. For either the *Sun* and *Moon* were wor-

A a

shipped

shipped by the ancient Saxons, and then might think themselves neglected in having no place assigned them amongst the rest; or else the *Saxon Pagan Gods were not the Godfathers to all the dayes of the week*, as our Author telleth us.

Fuller.

It is harsh, that I must be indicted to justify every metaphorical expression; but know, That the word [bescattered] properly importeth some empty intervals, or naked distances betwixt the things scattered; which otherwise, would be covered all over, and not be scattered. If therefore *two dayes in the seven* have escaped nomination from *Saxon Idols*, the week notwithstanding may be said, be scattered by them.

Dr. Heylin.

As much he seems to be mistaken in their god called *Woden*; of whom thus he telleth us. Fol. 54. *Woden, that is wood, fierce, or furious, giving the denomination to Wednesday, or Wodenf-day, armed cap a pe with military Coronet on his head, he was the god of Battail, by whose aid and furtherance, they hoped to obtain Victory; correspondent to Mars.* But Camden sings another song, telling us that *Wooden* was not worshipped for *Mars*, but *Mercury*. Above all other gods, saith he; they worshipped *Mercury*, whom they called *Wooden*, whose favour they procured by sacrificing unto him men alive, and to him they consecrated the fourth day of the week, whereupon we call it at this day *Wednesday*. Thus also in another place, *Wansdike, in the Saxon tongue called Wodenspoic, that is to say, the Ditch of Wooden or Mercury, and as it should seem of Woden, that false imagined god and father of the English Saxons.* And herein I shall rather subscribe to *Camdens*, than our Authors judgement. For certainly had the Saxons worshipped *Wooden* as the god of Battail, or correspondent to *Mars*, they would have given him the third day of the week, or the day of *Mars*, and not the fourth day of the week, or the day of *Mercury*; as they gave *Sunday* and *Munday* unto *Sol* and *Luna*, and *Thursday* unto *Thur*, whom they worshipped in the place of *Jupiter*, ascribing unto him (as the *Greeks* and *Romans* did to *Jupiter*) the power of bearing rule in the Air, governing Thunder, Lightnings, Windes, Showers, fair weather, &c. as *Adam Bremensis*, a good Writer, doth inform us of them. And though it may be true, which our Author telleth us, that *by his aid and furtherance they hoped to obtain Victory*, yet this entitleth him not to the place of *Mars*; as many victories being gotten by wit and stratagem (the known arts of *Mercury*) as by strength and valour.

Fuller.

In describing the *Saxon Idolatries* I followed *Verstegan*, as the best in this kind, as who (*Data opera*) had written on that subject, and who lately by the \* Animadvertor was styled (and that very deservedly) a man inferior to none in the Antiquities of this Nation.

However, finding a difference betwixt him and Mr. *Camden* in this particular, I fairly entred this plain note in the \* margin of my book,

So Verstegan pag. 72. but Camden Brit. pag. 135.  
makes him to be Mercury.

Now either the Animadvertor did not, or did take notice of this marginal note. If he did not, being there rendered so conspicuously to the Reader, it is high time for him to leave off writing of books, and turn his penne into prayers; otherwise, such omissions by those who read unto him, will every day more and more inevitably betray him to, and involve him in more inconveniences.

If he did take notice of this note (which is most probable, alwaies consulting my margin, when making for his advantage) he discovered much superfluity; (not to say of \* naughtinesse,) *Actum agere*, that what I had done before; he must doe

In Brit. fol. 135

Id. in miltib.  
fol. 241.

\* In the last  
page.

\* Pag. 42  
prima.

\* JAMES I. 21.



doe again; and also finde fault with me, who had done it before, in this his unnecessary Animadversion.

I will onely add, that the *fierce* and *furious* aspect of *Woden*, the evidence of his *wild* and *wood* nature (whence He had his Name) better countenanceth his correspondence with *Mars*, than *Mercury*; the latter being concerned to carry a more meek and mild countenance, as who being of a *tamer* kind, and acting all by craft and *cunning*, did not *fright*, but *flatter* deluded people into his plausible Designs.

### Dr. Heylin.

But from our Authors failers, in recounting the superstitions of our *Saxon* Ancestors, let us next see how he behaves himself in laying down the story of their conversion. In which, though he ascribe something unto *Austin* the Monk, yet he will by no means allow him to be their Apostle: For, fol. 54. *The Papists* (saith he) *commonly call Augustine the English Apostle, how properly we shall see hereafter.* And after, fol. 68. *The Papists brag that he was the Apostle of the English.* In these few words there are two things to be considered, whether he is called *the Apostle of the English* by the *Papists* onely; and secondly, whether he were not so, both in fact and title. Not call'd so by the *Papists* onely, I am sure of that; but called so commonly by as good Protestants as our Author himself. Thus *Camden*, a right English Protestant, *After this Augustine, whom commonly they call the Apostle of the English men, being sent thither by Gregory the Great, having abolished these monstrous abominations of Heathenish impiety, with most happy successe, planting Christ in their hearts, converted them to the Christian faith.* Nor doth he speak this onely in the voice of the common people, but in another place more plainly, as his own opinion. *A place there is about this shire called Austins Oke, at which Augustine the Apostle of the English men, and the Bishops of Britain met, &c.* Camd. Brit. fol. 136.

*Dr. Philemon Holland* of *Coventry*, a good Protestant also, making an Index unto *Camden*, speaks the self same language; *Augustine the Apostle of the English*; which is short, but full. *Gabriel Richardson* of *Brazen-Nose*, an honest Protestant, in his laborious piece called the *State of Europe*, telleth us of *Canterbury*, that the *Archbishops See* was founded by *King Ethelbert* in the person of *St. Austin the Apostle of the English*. More of this kind might be produc'd, were it not given us for a Rule in the holy Scripture, *Ex ore duorum testium vel trium*, that two or three witnessess were sufficient to confirm a truth. Richardson's State of Europe lib. 3.

The next thing here to be considered is, whether *Austin* were not the Apostle of the *English*, both in fact and title. In order whereunto, we must first take notice, that the word being meerly *Greek*, doth signifie in its natural and original sence a *Messenger*, a *Legat*, an *Embassador*, from whom, to whomsoever sent; and though appropriated to twelve as by way of excellence, yet not improperly communicated unto others in succeeding times, with reference to the Nations whom they had converted. So *Boniface* an *English* man the first *Archbishop* of *Ments*, is called by *Dr. Holland*, (as by many others) the *Apostle of Germany*; *Palladius* styled by *Camden*, the *Apostle of the Scottish Nation*; and the *Irish* would not think themselves to be fairly dealt with, if their *St. Patrick* should not be honoured with that Title also. In this sence *Austin* may be call'd, and that not improperly, the *Apostle of the English Nation*; though a derivative *Apostle*, an *Apostle* (as our Author calls him in the way of scorn, fol. 68.) *at the second hand*, though others propagated the Gospel further than he liv'd to doe. It was enough to entitle him to this *Apostleship*, that he first publickly preach't the Gospel, and brought the glad Tiding of Salvation amongst the *English*, though he neither converted all the Nation, nor travelled into all parts of the Land to attempt the same. Neither *St. Paul* could be entitled the *Apostle of the Gentiles*, *St. Thomas* of the *Indians*; nor *St. Matthew* of the *Ethiopians*; if it were necessarily required to their *Apostleships*, that all the Nations of the *Indians* must be converted by the one, or the vast Countries of the *Ethiopians* must be converted by the other; or finally, if *St. Paul*, to save them a labour, must have reduced all the *Gentiles* to the faith Camd. in Scotland, fol. 45.

faith of *Christ*. And this the Embassadors for the King of *England* at the council of *Basil*, understood right well, when they contended for precedency with those of *Castile*. For when the *Castilians* had objected, that although *Joseph* of *Arimashea* had preacht in *England*, it was but in a corner thereof, the grand body of *Britain* remaining *Pagan* many hundred years after : the *English* Embassadors wisely answer<sup>d</sup>, that the Allegation was impertinent to the present purpose, it being not the Universality, but the first Preaching of the Christian Faith which gained the name of an Apostle ; there being no Disciple (as they truly urged it) that ever converted a Kingdome totally and entirely to Christianity, for which consult our very Author, *Lib. 4. 181.*

And yet he pains in preaching of *Austin* were not so limited and restrain'd to one Kingdome only, but that he travaill'd into most parts of the *Saxon* Heptarchy, preaching the Gospell in all places to which the spirit did conduct him, or his business lead him. Our Author grants him to have converted the Kingdome of *Kent*, fol. 7. and to have taken care for planting the Gospel in the Kingdome of the *East-Saxons*, and for that end ordaining *Mellitus* the first Bishop of *London* fol. 67. From hence he carries him to a conference with the *British* Bishops in the Country of the *Wiccians* (now *Worcestershire*) then part of the Kingdome of *Mercia*, fol. 60. From thence to *Richmondshire* in the Kingdome of *Northumberland*, where he is said to have baptiz'd above ten thousand in one day, fol. 66. And finally, to *Corn* in *Dorsetshire*, part of the Kingdome of the *West-Saxons*, where he destroyed the Idol of *Heale* or *Æsculapius*. By which we see, that he visited no fewer than five of the seven Kingdoms in the *Saxon* Heptarchie, not onely doing in each of them that particular work which he went about, but preaching in all fit places as he pass'd along. And this considered as it ought, with reference to the distance of those several places to which our very Author brings him, gives him just title to that honour which our Author would so willingly deprive him of; when telling us how the Papists called him the *English* Apostle, he adds these words, *how properly* (so called) *we shall see hereafter.*

Fuller.

The Animadvertor engageth deeper in this Controversy, than in my minde it deserveth. To stare the difference truly, whether *Augustine* properly is called the Apostle of the *English*? we must explain two Terms, Apostle and *English*.

Acts 1. 21.

1 Corin. 9. 1.

Waving the generall notation of Apostle for no more than a Messenger; In the new Testament it importeth a person immediately sent by Christ, to preach people into salvation : It was essentiall to their constitution, either to have accompanied Christ in the flesh, a qualification required by St. \* Peter in such Elects, who should supply the vacancy of Judas, or at the least that they should see Christ incarnate, either humbled or glorified; the latter favour being peculiarly afford d to St. Paul : Am I not an Apostle, am I not free, have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord? These I may call primitive Apostles; and none will entitle *Augustine* the Monk, to be one of their order. A second sort I call derivative Apostles, a Term, which though the Animadvertor sayeth is used by me in the way of scorn, I protest it in sober seriousness, God hath not endowed me to make a more proper Expression, signifying such as mediately, and (as I say) at the second hand, and sent by some eminent servants of God to convert Pagans to Christianity.

*English* may be taken in a threefold sence.

First, for all the Nation, (an Indefinite, amounting to an universal) and this is the most proper sence of the word.

Secondly, for the greater part of the Nation, which in common discourse denominates the whole.

Thirdly, for some part of the nation, which may be made good by a Synecdoche, especially justified, when it is a chief and first (though least) part thereof, which (as *2d* *2d*, or) *per eminentiam*, taketh the name of the whole.

My clear sence is, *Augustine* the Monk may be called a derivative Apostle of the



the English in the last acception of the word, and so Mr. *Camden*, Mr. *Richardson*, Mr. *Holland*, and I doubt not but many more have and may intitle him.

The Animadvertor measureth the progresse of *Augustine* with too extensive dimensions, making him a greater English Travailer than ever he was; *Kent* was generally the Sphere he moved in, and from thence he was Itinerant to *Cerne* in *Dorsetshire*, the boundary of his Western travail: No personall atchievements by him North of *Thames*, seeing that grave baptizition (if in *Yorkshire*) was surely done by *Paulinus*. As for the interview and conference betwixt him and the British Bishops in *Worcestershire* (though some probably might be converted in his passage thither, and return thence) no great advantage, but detriment to Christianity was thereby occasioned, those parts generally remaining in Paganism.

And here I will tender the Reader another distinction of Apostles, submitting it to his judgement, They were either of God alone, Man alone, God and Man together.

Of God alone, as St. Paul (and the other twelve) an Apostle not of Man, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father, who raised him from the dead. Gal. 1. 1.

Secondly, of Man alone, being such as the false Apostles amongst the *Corinthians*, and else where, whose Commission was made and drawn up by themselves, sealed and attested by some of their Factious admirers.

Thirdly, of God and Man, and such an Apostle was *Augustine* sent, as I may say, by God and Gregory to the English Nation. But let him not ingrosse the name to himself, but admit also as his partners therein, 1 *Mellitus*, 2 *Paulinus*, and *Aidan*, 3 *Felix*, 4 *Brianus*, 5 *Chad*, 6 *Wilfrid*, Apostles also, because sent to, and converters of the, 1 *East-Saxons*, 2 *Northumbrians*, 3 *East-Angles*, 4 *West*, 5 *Mercians*, 6 *South-Saxons*.

#### Dr. Heylin.

I have spent more time than I intended in defence of this Title, and therefore think it seasonable to proceed from the Person to his Acts. Of which the first we meet with is, the fixing of the Archiepiscopal See at *Canterbury*, for which our Author, amongst many other Reasons, gives us this for one, viz. That *London*, by reason of the receipt thereof was likely to prove the residing place for the English Monarch, and it was probable that the Archiepiscopal dignity would there be eclipsed, and outshined by the Regal Diadem.] But here I must needs ask our Author, whether he thinks, that this was really one of those many motives which occasioned *Austin* to resolve of *Canterbury* for his Seat of Residence? If yea, then must our Author grant him to be endued with the Spirit of Prophecy, which I think he will not; if not, then a contingency so remote could not be taken by him into consideration, as indeed it was not. For first, *London* at that time, was the chief City of the Kingdome of *East-sex*, one of the weakest of the seven, and so not likely to prevail over all the rest. Secondly, if any of the greater Kingdomes of *Mercia*, *West-sex*, or *Northumberland*, should in fine prevail, it was not probable that the Conquerors would remove the Seat Royal from their own Dominions into any of the conquered Countries. And thirdly, though the Kings of the *West-Saxons*, who prevailed at last, and became Monarchs of the whole, settled the Royal Seat in *London*, yet was it not till *Winchester*, their own Regal City, was destroyed by fire, and made unable to receive them.

#### Fuller.

Other Reasons are alledged by me, why *Austin* chose *Canterbury* rather than *London* for his Archiepiscopal See. These Arguments *Functa juvant*, and will hold in the Sheaff, though a single Arrow should be broken, I mean, though this one Reason (alledged by me) were disproved.

*Austin* needed no propheticall Inspiration, whilst prudential prevision could sufficiently suggest unto him, that if ever the Saxon Heptarchy terminated (which was most probable) in a Monarchy, *London* might be presumed the principal place of the Royal Residence, as most convenient for Trading, and commodious for situation: I say *London*, an Infant in the time of *Tacitus*, a Stripling in

the time of *Austin*, a Man before the Conquest, and grown a Giant in our daies.

Dr Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 60. *The first cast of his Office was to call a Council for the Saxon and British Bishops to come together in the confines of the Wiccians and West-Saxons.* Our Author placeth this meeting within few lines after, in the confines of *Worcester* and *Herefordshire*, and more rightly there, *Worcestershire*, or the Countrey of the *Wiccii* confining on the County of *Hereford*, but bordering in no place on the Kingdome of *West-sex*, the whole County of *Glocester* being interposed. So that our Author being mistaken in the place of the meeting, it is no wonder if he stumble at the Monuments and Records thereof. Of one of which he telleth us.

Fuller

Here is more than an *Insinnuation*, as if I in designing the Place of this Meeting, had written something contrary to *Truth*, and also to my Self, who indeed have exactly followed the best Authors in the Position thereof.

Bede fixeth it [Book 2. Chap. 2.] in confinio Wicciorum & Occidentalium-Saxonum in the confines of *Worcestershire* Men and *West-Saxons*; and H. Huntington hath the same words, lib. 3. pag. 323.

Mr. Camden makes the Oake under which they met, in the borders of *Worcester* and *Herefordshire*; and Sir Henry Spelman doth concur with him therein.

If therefore the Interposition of *Glocestershire* distanceth *Worcestershire* from confining on the *West-Saxons*, the Animadvertor ought to have vented his displeasure not on Me, but on Bede, and Huntington, whose words I exactly translated.

May the Reader be pleased to take notice, that *Glocestershire*, a liminary County, did in that Age belong to three Dominions: That West of *Severn* (now the Forest of *Dean*) to the Britans or *Welsh*; the East part thereof, (chiefly consisting of *Cotswold*) to the Kingdome of *Mercia*; and the middle of that County, (along the East of *Severn*) to the *West-Saxons*, as I have seen in an exquisite Map of the *Heptarchy*; and this I tender as the most probable Expedient to reconcile learned Authors amongst themselves, and all to the Truth, in bringing *Worcestershire* and *West-Saxons* together. Thus being critical in stating the Place, and laying the Scene, I hope I shall be the better believed in relating the Acts of this Conference.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 61. *That we can part with it without any losse to ourselves*, and therefore bids it to make shift for its own Authenticalnesse, fol. 60. The Record sleighted thus, is a Memorial of the Answer of the Abbot of *Bancor*, to Archbishop *Austins* proposition, communicated by Peter Moston a *Welsh* Gentleman, to that learned and industrious Antiquary Sir Henry Spelman, and by him placed in his collection of the *British* and *Saxon* Councils: Which honour he had never given it, had he not conceived it worthy to deserve that place; nor had the *Papists* used such violence to wrest it from us, without the hope of gaining somewhat to themselves.

Fuller.

Had I sleighted that Record, I would not have took the pains to have exemplified it in *British* and *English*, and procured a Prime Antiquary of the *Welsh* to correct it; I have given the true Valuation thereunto, esteeming it as highly, as Doctor Hammond hath done, thus writing thereof in his Account of H. T. his Appendix



pendix to the Manual of Controversie concerning the Abbot of Bangors Answer to Augustine,

Page 168.

*In case this one Testimony should be demonstrated to be a Simple Imposture, we can unconcernedly and easily part with it, standing in no need of this Auxiliary: And not long after, The acquisitions of this Author [H.T.] hereby, and proportionably our losses must be so unconsiderable.*

For the rest I refer my self to my *Church-History* in this particular passage, and stand ready to justify the same, as truly and cautiously written:

Dr. Heylin.

But to proceed, this conference being ended without success, there followed not long after the great slaughter of the Monks of *Bancor*, for which our Author in a merrier humor than becomes the sadness of the matter, or the gravity of an *Ecclesiastical History*, hath caused *Austin* to be indited, impanelling a Jury, and producing his evidence.

Fuller.

I am sensible of no *mis-becoming mirth* or *levity* therein. The impanelling of a Jury is one of the most solemn and serious of all the proceedings in our Law; I preferred this method as the *clearest* to present all passages to the *fancie*, and *fittest* to fix the same in the *memory* of the Reader.

Dr. Heylin.

Amongst which *Matthew Parker*, the learned Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *John Jewel*, the renowned Bishop of *Salisbury*, must be rejected by the Jury as incompetent witnesses; partly because of their known opposition to the *Romish Church*; and partly because of their modern writing, almost a thousand years after the matter in fact, fol. 64. And all this done to add the greater honour to Mr. Fox, as *Modern* as either of the two, and as *averse* as either of them from the Church of *Rome*. But Mr. Fox was Mr. Fox, no friend unto the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, whereas the other two were Bishops and great sticklers for them. This makes our Author magnifie Fox for his moderation, whose moderate testimony (saith he) much moved the whole Court; and as much to condemn the others for the sharpness of their expressions against *Austin*, (whom our Author himself reprocheth often for his pride and haughtiness, fol. 62.) which made them of lesse credit amongst the Jury. A thread of which fine spinning we shall finde frequently interwoven in the whole web of this History; and towards the latter end thereof, not a few whole pieces made of no better yarn. And let the Reader take this with him for a taste of our Authors good affections to the several parties, that it is bare M. Parker and plain Bishop Jewel, without welt or guard, but reverent Mr. Fox by all means; and so let him passe. And let us passe also to the residue of the Acts of *Austin*.

Fuller.

1. I did not expect that the Animadvertor, being of *Magdalens* in *Oxford*, would have been offended to have heard his Collegiate (Mr. Fox) to be commended.

2. The testimonies of Archbishop Parker and Bishop Jewel are (to hold the Ballance indifferently) the lesse valued, because in some sort they were parties, as who (in their Writings) had engaged themselves in this present Controversie, whilst Mr. Fox stands Neuter as to this particular Controversie.

3. Though the Animadvertor be pleased to entitle him *noe friend* to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, give me leave to add, and he was no fierce foe against them; But Mr. Fox was Mr. Fox, and Dr. Heylin is Dr. Heylin.

4. As Mr. Fox hath now the casual favour of my Pen to be epithited Reverent,

\* Church Hist.  
Book 9. page  
187. parag. 63

\* Lib 9 pag 101  
and ott before.  
\* Page 14.

so afterwards *without well or guard*, he is plainly called \* *John Fox*. The Animad-  
vertor in this his *sleight Note*, reaping what was not *purposely sown*, will finde little  
food in what He reaps.

Lastly, Bishop *Jewel* hath his large and due character of commendation (with  
all honourable Additions with advantage) in due \* place : So also hath *Archbishop*  
*Parker*, on the same token, that in my History of \* *Cambridge*, I cleer him from  
the scandalous insinuation of *Bryan Twine*; *Si illis standum sit*, &c. suggesting  
some unworthy suspicions, as if he had falsified *Mathew Paris* in his Edition  
thereof.

#### Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 66. *Who all this while was very industrious, and no  
lesse successfull in converting the Saxons to the Christian faith : Insomuch that a  
certain Author reporteth, how in the River Swale neer Richmond in Yorkshire, he in  
one day baptized above ten thousand.*] The certain Author whom he means, is an  
old fragment of a namelesse Author, cited by *Camden*, fol. 136. who tells the sto-  
ry otherwise than our Author doth : For though the Fragment tell us, that the  
River was called *Swale*, yet that it was the River *Swale* neer *Richmond* in *York-*  
*shire*, is the addition of our Author. That there is a River of that name neer *Rich-*  
*mond* is affirmed by *Camden*, who withall telleth us, "That it was reputed very  
"sacred amongst the ancient *English*, for that in it, when the *English-Saxons* first  
"embraced Christianity, there were in one day baptized with festival joy by  
"Paulinus the Archbishop of *York*, above ten thousand Men besides Women and  
"little Children. Of *Austins* baptizing in this River, not one word saith he.  
Neither doth *Beda* touch upon it, as certainly he would have done, had there  
been ground for it. And therefore if I may have leave to venture my opinion, I  
shall concur with the old fragment as to the name of the River, and yet not carry  
*Austin* out of *Kent*, & much less into *Richmondshire* to perform that office. For when  
we find in *Camden* that the *Medway* falling into the *Thames*, is divided by the Isle of  
*Sheppey* into two great branches, of which the one is called *East Swale*, the other  
*West-Swale*, I see no reason why we should look any where else for that River  
*Swale* mentioned in the old fragments, which before we spake of. But herein I  
must submit my self to more able judgements. The place agreed on, we shou'd  
next inquire into the numbers, but that our Author seems to grant as much as the  
fragment craveth.

*Camden in*  
*Richmondshire,*  
*fol. 710.*

*Camden in*  
*Kent, fol. 333.*

#### Fuller.

I could heartily wish that all the *Animadvertors Book* had consisted of such mat-  
ter, then had it been greater though less, I mean bigger in benefit, though smaller in  
*Bulk*, and more instructive to the Reader thereof. I did not before take notice of  
either *East* or *West-Swale* in *Kent*, and now profess myself the *Animadvertors*  
*Convert* in this point, agreeing with him, that this *grand-Baptizing* (if done by  
*St. Austin*) was done in the place by him specified.

But this still doth more and more confirm me in my judgement, that *Austin*  
advanced never into *Yorkshire*, and that the conversion of the *Northumbrians* was  
the work of *Paulinus* and others,

#### Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 66. *If so many were baptized in one day, it appears  
plainly, that in that age the Administration of that Sacrament was not loaded with  
those superstitious Ceremonies, as essential therunto, of crossing, spittle, Oyl, Cream,  
Salt, and such like Trinkets.*] Our Author here reckoneth the signe of the Crosse  
in Baptism amongst the vain trinkets, and superstitious Ceremonies of the Church of  
*Rome*, and thereby utterly condemneth the Church of *England*, which doth not  
onely require it in her *Rubrics*, but also pleads for it in her *Canons*. Not as essen-  
tial to that Sacrament (the Papists not making *Spittle, Oyle, Cream, Salt, &c.* to be  
essential therunto, as our Author saith) but onely for a signe significative, in token  
that



that the party signed shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under his Banner, against sin, the world, and the Devil, and to continue Christs faithfull soldier and servant unto his lives end. A Ceremony not so new as to be brought within the compals of Popish Trinkets, though by them abused, For when the point was agitated in the Conference at Hampton Court, and that it was affirmed by some of the Bishops, that the Crosse in Baptism was used in the time of Constantine; Dr. Reynolds, the most able man of the opposite party, who had before acknowledged it to have been in use in other cases, from the very times of the Apostles, had not one word to say against it. And to say truth, no man of modesty and learning, could have spoke against it, when it was proved so clearly by Dr. Andrews then Dean of Westminster out of Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen; (each of which died long time before Constantines birth) to have been used in *immortali Lavacro*, in that blessed Sacrament. That good old saying of Tertullian, *Caro signetur, ut anima muniatur*, may serve once for all. And therefore when our Author telleth us in the following words, that *in that age nothing was used with Baptism, but Baptism*, it must be considered as a smack of that old leaven which more and more will soure the lump of his whole discourse. We have already had a taste of it in the very first Book, we finde a continuance of it here, and we shall see more of it hereafter; our Author not being coy in shewing his good affections not onely to the persons of the *Non-conformists*, but their inconformity; not to the men onely, but their Doctrines and Opinions also. And this is that which we must trust to in the whole course of this History.

Form of Baptism.

Conference pag. 7.

## Fuller.

This Objection hath been answered at large in the *Introduction*, and here I intend no repetition, onely desiring the Reader to take notice of those my words, as *ESSENTIAL* therunto.

Let me add that a \* *Curse* is pronounced on those who remove the *Land-marks*, and it falleth most heavy on them who remove the *limits* in Gods worship, (as being *Boundaries* of highest Consequence,) turn *MAY* into *MUST*, convenient into necessary, *Ornamental* into *Essential*. \* Deut. 17.17.

I have as high an Esteem for the *Cross* in *Baptisme* as the *Animadvertor* Himself, so long as it observes the due distance of an *Ancient* and *Significant* Ceremony, and intrudes not it self as *Essential*. A *Chain of Gold* is an eminent Ornament about the *Neck*, but it may be drawn so close, as to choak and strangle the wearer thereof. And in like manner *Ceremonies*, though decent and usefull, when pretending to *Essentiality*, become (as *Luther* saith) *Carnificina Conscientia*, and therefore justly may we beware thereof.

## Dr. Heylin.

Having now done with the Acts of *Austin*, we shall not keep our selves to so continued a discourse as before we did, but take our Authors Text by piecemeal, as it comes before us, and making such *Animadversions* on the same, as may best serve to rectifie the story and maintain the truth, as namely, Fol. 65. Thus the Italian, Spanish, and French, Daughters or Nieces to the Latine, are generated from the corruption thereof.] This is (I grant) the common and received opinion; but yet, me thinks, our Author who loves singularities, should not vouchsafe to travel on the publique Road.

## Fuller.

In my passage to heaven, I desire to goe in the narrow path, and decline the broad way which leadeth to destruction: But on earth I love to travel the common and beaten road, as easiest to finde, and wherein (if wrong, or at a losse,) one may looneft finde company to guide and direct him. Mat. 7.14.

If I should travel over the *Animadvertors* several at *Laceys-Court*, I have cause to suspect he would sue me for *pedibus ambulando*; And it is hard, if also he will not let me goe (without carping at me) in the *high-way* or *publique road*.

C

I build

I build nothing on the *high-way* (so to trespass upon the *Lord of the Soil*) but onely peaceably passe along it : I mean, I make no *inferences* or *deductions* from this received opinion, I derive no consequence thence. All that I doe, is to gain just advantage thereby to honour the *Welsh tongue*, by shewing that it is no *Daughter* or *Niece* (like the *Italians*, *Spanish*, and *French*) but a *Mother* and *original* Language, and might justly have expected thanks rather than censure, from the *Animadvertor* for my pains, seeing he delighteth to derive himself from *British* extraction.

Dr. Heylin.

wood  
u. cap V.

For in my minde it is affirmed with better reason by our learned *Brerewood*, That those tongues have not sprung from the corruption of the *Latine*, by the inundation and mixture of barbarous people in those Provinces, but from the first imperfect impression and receiving of it in those forain Countries. For the *Latine* tongue was never so generally received in any of the conquered Provinces out of *Italy*, as to be spoken ordinarily by the common people ; the Gentry and Nobility might be perfect in it, for the better dispatch of their Affairs with the *Roman* Magistrates, who had the Government and Lieutenancy in their severall Countries. And some taste of it might be found with the *Vulgar* also, who having continual intercourse with the *Roman* Souldiers, and some recourse for Trade to the *Roman* Colonies, could not but get a smattering of the *Latine* tongue. Just so the Gentry and Nobility both in *Wales* and *Ireland*, are trained up for the same reasons in the *English* tongue ; which notwithstanding could never get the mastery of the natural Languages, or gain much ground on those of inferior quality. Secondly, had these National Languages proceeded from the depravation of the *Latine* tongue, by the mixture of the barbarous Nations, it must needs follow, that the *Italian* had not now been the language of all people in *Italy*, nor the *French* of all the Nations which inhabit *France* : & sic de ceteris. My reason is, because the *Heruli*, being settled in those parts, which we now call *Piedmont*, the *Longobards* more towards the *East*, the *Goths* about the middle parts, the *Saracens* and *Greeks* in the Realm of *Naples*, there must needs be as many distinct Languages in that one Continent, as there were barbarous Nations planted in it, or at the least such different Dialects, as could be scarce intelligible unto one another. Whereas it is certainly and most plainly known, that there is onely one Language spoken in all that Countrey, equally understood by all, without so much as any sensible difference in pronunciation ; more than is usual in all places between the Countrey Villages and the neighbouring Citizens. The like may be affirmed of the ancient *Galls*, planted on the East-side of the *Loyre* by the *Burgundians* ; on the West-side of that River, and towards the *Mediterranean*, the *Pyrenies* and the *Aquitain Ocean* by the *Gothish* Nations, in most other parts of it by the *Franks* ; and yet all speaking (with very little difference) the same one Language, which from the most predominant People we now call the *French*. More to this purpose might be said, were not this sufficient.

Fuller.

\* I request the Reader to consult my words, as rendered by the *Animadvertor*, in the former paragraph.

In this my Expression, that the *Italian*, *Spanish*, and *French*, are \* Generated from the Corruption of the *Latin*, the *Animadvertor* layeth not so much weight on the term *GENERATED*, as on the word *CORRUPTION* ; whereas indeed whatsoever is Generated, must be by the Corruption [in some kinde] of that whereof it is begotten.

\* Judges 12.6.

Corruption importeth (as currant in common discourse) the abasing of a thing from the purity thereof : Now it is all one in Effect, and equally doth my work, to dignifie the *British* as an *Original*, above those three Languages, if they came from the imperfect Impression or Reception of the *Latin*, which may be reduced to the Corruption thereof. Thus the *Shiboleth* of the \* *Ephraimites*, may in propriety of phrase, be said to have had its rise and being from the Corruption [viz. natural mispronunciation] of the *Hebrew* word *Shiboleth*. As for the *Animadvertor*'s long discourse



discourse of the irruption of *Barbarens*, I will return an answer when at better leisure, beholding my self as utterly unconcerned therein.

Let me add a passage from the mouth of a person present thereat : *Bishop Williams Lord Keeper* could speak the *Spanish* very well ; but knowing how much it concerned a *Minister of State* to be perfect Master of his Tongue, declined it in all *Negotiations*, Now *Gondomar* in a State-passage, desired Him to speak *Spanish*, and on the Bishops refusal thereof, *My Lord* (said the *Don*) *doe but spoil your good, turning it into scurvy Latin, and it will make as good Spanish as any in the World.* It seems he was of my *Mind* in this present Controversie.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. *Ibid.* *The Hebrew the common Tongue of the whole world, before it was inclin'd (that is to say, divided) into several Languages.* An Opinion as common as the other, and as weakly grounded, such as I marvel at in our Author, who having travel'd over all the *Holy-Land*, should have been better studied in the true nature and original of the *Holy-Tongue*.

Fuller.

It is strongly grounded on convincing arguments, as God willing shall soon appear.

The *Animadvertisers* marvelling why I am no better studied in the nature and original of the *Hebrew Tongue*, who (as he saith) have travel'd over the *Holy-Land*, moveth me more to admire, that he himself should be so utterly ignorant in the *Brasilian, Mexican, Ethiopian, Persian, Indian, and Tartarian Tongues*; but especially in the *China* language, one letter whereof he did never understand; although he hath writ a general *Geographic* of the whole world.

Dr. Heylin.

Nor is it the opinion onely, that this *Tongue* was spoken universally before the Flood, and even in *Paradise* it self in the state of *Innocency*, but that it shall be spoken in the *Celestial Paradise*, the language of the *Saints* in glory.

Fuller.

I will not ingage my self in such a point of meer curiosity; yet is it not improbable, that it might be spoken in *Paradise*, seeing the word *Paradise*, and *Eden* in *Greek*, is borrowed, as *Criticks* confesse, from עֵדֶן the *Hebrew* word. Besides, it is not probable that *Adam* lost his *Language* with his *Innocence*; and that he spake *Hebrew* after his fall, shall immediatly be proved.

Let me will I trouble my self what *Language* the glorified *Saints* shall speak in *Heaven*, though I am sure that *Hallelujah, praise ye the Lord*, is pure *Hebrew*. When people report untoward improbable passages from forain far distant Countries, we commonly return, *That it is better to believe them, than to goe thither to confute them.* But if any have over confidently affirmed, that the *Saints* in glory shall speak *Hebrew*, let us rather labour to goe thither to confute them, than here to believe them. Meantime let us here take heed of the malicious language of *Detraction* against our *Brethren*, and of *scurrilous* and *profane* Language, whereby *Piety* may be dishonoured.

Dr. Heylin.

In so much that some good women of my old acquaintance, were once very eagerly bent to learn this *Language*, for fear (as I conceive) they should not chat it handsomly when they came to *heaven*.

Fuller.

The *Doctors Book* bears the title of *NECESSARY Animadversions*; But if this be one, let it even serve the Reader for his *NECESSARY use*.

Indeed I have read of *Cato*, who having heard some *Philosophers* maintain that

the

the Heathen gods spake Greek in *Heaven*, being past sixtie years old, he began to learn the Greek, that after death he might the better converse with them; a project and practise proportionable enough to Pagan principles: The analogy whereof is too applyable to some prophane mouths of our age, who by execrable oaths and Curses practise aforehand to blaspheme, rendring themselves (without their serious and seasonable repentance) in a neerer capacity to discourse with the Devils and Damned in Hell. But of *chatting of Hebrew in Heaven*, this is the first, and I hope it shall be the last time I shall meet with the expression.

Dr. Heylin.

Now for the ground thereof, it is no other than an old Jewish Tradition, importing, that this being the common Language of all people before the Flood, was afterwards appropriated unto Phaleg (the son of Heber) and to his Posterity, because not present with the rest at the building of Babel, and consequently not within the curse of confounded Languages. But against this it is disputed; first that it is but a Tradition, and therefore of no sure foundation to build upon.

Heylins Cosmog. pag. 17.

Fuller.

Before we come to the serious examination of the point in hand, I would fain be satisfied what means this marginal note, (*Heylins Cosmographie, page 19.*) What? Doth he alledge himself to prove his own opinion; my bad Heraldry was never guilty of such a fault, *metal upon metal.*

Now that the Hebrew was the common Tongue of the world, before the Confusion at Babel, is more than a meer Tradition, being backed with many Authorities and unanswerable Arguments.

Of Authorities, we begin with St. Hieron, one who is many Authors in this Point (because of his great and general skill in Languages) and who in his Comment on Zephany, chap. 3. 18. affirmeth, *Lingua Hebraica omnium Linguarum esse Matricem, that the Hebrew is the Mother of all Languages.* St. Augustine, lib. 10. cap. 1. de Civitate Dei, *Qua prima humana generi non immerito creditur esse communis, ideo deinceps Hebraea est nuncupata.*

To these I will add a Jury of publike Professors, all of Eminent note, since the reviving of Languages in the Western world.

1. Mercerus, Professor Parisiensis Regius, in Gen. 11. l.

2. D. Pareus, Prof. Heidelberg, in eundem locum.

3. Rivetus, Prof. Leiden. Isay c. 4.

4. Crinsius, Prof. Aldorpbini Noricor. de confusant Linguarum, pag. 4.

5. Joh. Buxtorfius senior, in Epist. ded. Thesauri Grammat.

6. Joh. Buxtorfius junior, Prof. Basil. de origine Primigenie Linguae, in 4<sup>to</sup>.

7. Glasius, Prof. Jena, lib. 4. tract. 3. de nomine proprio, pag. 775.

8. Polyander, Prof. Leid. Oras. 18. in laudem lingua Hebraeae, pag. 296, 297.

9. Tilmelinus, Profess. Heb. Linguae, Cantabrigiae.

10. Fr. Junius, Prof. Heidelberg. in Gen. 11. 1. *Urbis isdem, &c.*

11. Whitakerus, Prof. Cantab. Conv. 1. quæst. 2. de scriptura.

12. Christ. Beckman, de prop. voc. significati, pag. 30.

\* For the elder Bucktorf and Beckman, I am as certain they were, as uncertain were, as publick Professors.

These Authorities are seconded with convincing Arguments. Not to insist on some Ruines and Reliques of Hebrew, scattered in all ancient Languages (and therefore Jo. Strabon hath his last (as surest) recourse to it in his Quest after the origination of Words) Names imposed on Persons before the Confusion of Tongues, are by the Spirit in Scripture (the best Interpreter) made to speak pure Hebrew.

Not to instance in Adam, notoriously known for red Earth, we take notice of,

1. Eve\* or Chavah, so called by her husband, Because she was the Mother of all living, and there is life enough in her Name to justify it.

2. Cain\*, so called by his Mother, rejoicing that she had gotten a Man, and the word

\* Gen 3. 20.

\* Gen 4. 1.



word signifieth a *Possession*, though therein She (with many other parents, abused by their own over-affection) promised her self more happiness than was performed.

3. *SETH*\*, so named by his mother, for God (said she) hath *APPOINTED* me \* Gen. 4. 25. another seed, &c. and signifieth one put, placed, or constituted.

4. *Noah*\*, so named by his Father, because *this son* (said he) shall comfort us, \* Gen. 5. 24. &c. as the word doth import.

5. *Peleg*\*, the son of *Heber*, may be presumed born at or immediately after the divisions of the World into *Languages*, and *Colonies*, and brooks division in his name.

It is not to be expected that all the whole sentence (spoken by their parents) should be completely contained in their name, but onely that the most operative, emphatical, and expressive word, should appear therein.

I am not ignorant that *Goropius Becanus* in his Book, which is rather smiled at for the wit, than approved for the judgement therein, deriveth all words from the German or Dutch Tongue. An handsome and pretty Essay, but I believe that the *Animadverſor* is not of his opinion.

It is one thing here and there to take a name, and to make it countenance such a sense; and another thing to charge through and through, so as all names may be demonstrated *Hebrew* in persons born before the confusion of *Babel*.

How vain would He prove himself, who from the name of *AHIMAN*\* (one of \* Numb. 13. 22. the giant sons of *Anak*) and from some correspondence of height in our Language, would thence infer, that *English* was the ancient Tongue spoken in the Land of *Canaan*.

But I have stayed too long on this discourse, and refer the rest unto Doctor *Brian Walton*, who in his Preface unto the last and very laborious and judicious Edition of the *Hebrew* and many languag'd Bible, hath no lesse learnedly than copiously handled this Subject.

Dr. Heylin.

And secondly, that it is such a Tradition, as holds no good coherence with the truth of Story, it being a most clear and demonstrative truth, that the *Hebrew* tongue was not the Language which *Abraham* brought with him out of *Chaldea* and *Mesopotamia*, but that which he found spoken in the Land of *Canaan* at his coming thither, to which both he and his posterity did conform themselves. Or had it been the Language of *Heber*, as they say it was, (but most undoubtedly was not) yet, thirdly, had this been a privilege conferred on *Heber*, that he and his posterity should speak the Original Language without alteration or corruption, it must have been extended to all those of the house of *Jocktan*, which descend from him; as also to the house of *Laban* in *Padan-Aram*, and to the *Moabites*, and the *Ammonites*, as the seed of *Eor*; and finally to the *Madianites*, *Ishmaelites*, and *Idumaeans*, descended of *Abraham* and *Eſau*; and not be limited and confined onely to the House of *Jacob*. Now that the language which afterwards was, and still is called by the name of the *Hebrew*, was spoken vulgarly in the Land of *Canaan* before the coming of *Abraham* thither, is not affirmed by *Brerewood* onely, but by *Scaliger*, *Grotius*, *Vossius*, *Bochartus*, (all of them men of great renown for their learned studies) and by many others of this age. By most of which it is affirmed also, that the name of *Hebrews* was given unto them by the people of *Canaan*, not in regard of their descent from *Heber* the father of *Phaleg*, but from *Abrahams* passing over the River *Euphrates*, when he came out of *Chaldea* with his Family to dwell amongst them; that name in the *Canaanitish* language signifying as much as *trajiciens* or *transfluvialis*; and therefore not unfitly given by them to *Abraham* at his first coming thither. And if the *Hebrew* (as we now call it) was that Holy Language which was spoken in *Paradise*, continued by the *Patriarchs* before the Flood, and after to the building of *Babel*; it must needs seem infinitely strange, that it should be reserv'd onely amongst the *Canaanites*, accused in the person of *Canaan* (their common Parent) by his Grandfather *Noah*, and so abominated by God for their filthy wickednesses, that he resolv'd to spew them out of their Na-

I build nothing on the *high-way* (so to trespasse upon the *Lord of the Soil*) but onely peaceably passe along it : I mean, I make no *inferences* or *deductions* from this received opinion, I derive no consequence thence. All that I doe, is to gain just advantage thereby to honour the *Welsh tongue*, by shewing that it is no *Daughter* or *Niece* (like the *Italians, Spanish, and French*) but a *Mother* and *original Language*, and might justly have expected thanks rather than censure, from the *Animadvertor* for my pains, seeing he delighteth to derive himself from *British extraction*.

Dr. Heylin.

wood  
4. cap V.

For in my minde it is affirmed with better reason by our learned *Brerewood*, That those tongues have not sprung from the corruption of the *Latine*, by the inundation and mixture of barbarous people in those *Provinces*, but from the first imperfect impression and receiving of it in those *forain Countries*. For the *Latine* tongue was never so generally received in any of the conquered *Provinces* out of *Italy*, as to be spoken ordinarily by the common people ; the *Gentry* and *Nobility* might be perfect in it, for the better dispatch of their Affairs with the *Roman Magistrates*, who had the Government and *Lieutenancy* in their several *Countries*. And some taste of it might be found with the *Vulgar* also, who having continual intercourse with the *Roman Souldiers*, and some recourse for Trade to the *Roman Colonies*, could not but get a smattering of the *Latine* tongue. Just so the *Gentry* and *Nobility* both in *Wales* and *Ireland*, are trained up for the same reasons in the *English* tongue ; which notwithstanding could never get the mastery of the natural *Languages*, or gain much ground on those of inferior quality. Secondly, had these *National Languages* proceeded from the depravation of the *Latine* tongue, by the mixture of the barbarous Nations, it must needs follow, that the *Italian* had not now been the language of all people in *Italy*, nor the *French* of all the Nations which inhabit *France* : & sic de ceteris. My reason is, because the *Heruli*, being settled in those parts, which we now call *Piedmont*, the *Longobards* more towards the *East*, the *Goths* about the middle parts, the *Saracens* and *Greeks* in the *Realm of Naples*, there must needs be as many distinct *Languages* in that one *Continent*, as there were barbarous Nations planted in it, or at the least such different *Dialects*, as could be scarce intelligible unto one another. Whereas it is certainly and most plainly known, that there is onely one *Language* spoken in all that *Countrey*, equally understood by all, without so much as any sensible difference in pronunciation ; more than is usual in all places between the *Countrey Villages* and the neighbouring *Citizens*. The like may be affirmed of the ancient *Gallia*, planted on the *East-side* of the *Loyre* by the *Burgundians* ; on the *West-side* of that *River*, and towards the *Mediterranean*, the *Pyrenies* and the *Aquitain Ocean* by the *Gothish Nations*, in most other parts of it by the *Franks* ; and yet all speaking (with very little difference) the same one *Language*, which from the most predominant People we now call the *French*. More to this purpose might be said, were not this sufficient.

Fuller.

\* I request the Reader to consult my words, as rendered by the *Animadvertor*, in the former paragraph.

In this my Expression, that the *Italian, Spanish, and French*, are \* *Generated from the Corruption of the Latin*, the *Animadvertor* layeth not so much weight on the term *GENERATED*, as on the word *CORRUPTION* ; whereas indeed whatsoever is *Generated*, must be by the *Corruption* [in some kinde] of that whereof it is begotten.

\* Judges 12.6.

*Corruption* importeth (as current in common discourse) the abasing of a thing from the purity thereof : Now it is all one in Effect, and equally doth my work, to dignifie the *British* as an *Original*, above those three *Languages*, if they came from the imperfect Impression or Reception of the *Latin*, which may be reduced to the *Corruption* thereof. Thus the *Siboleth* of the \* *Ephraimites*, may in propriety of phrase, be said to have had its rise and being from the *Corruption* [viz. natural mispronunciation] of the *Hebrew* word *Shiboleth*. As for the *Animadvertors* long discourse



discourse of the irruption of *Barbarous*, I will return an answer when at better leisure, beholding my self as utterly unconcerned therein.

Let me add a passage from the mouth of a person present thereat : *Bishop Williams Lord Keeper* could speak the *Spanish* very well ; but knowing how much it concerned a *Minister of State* to be perfect Master of his Tongue, declined it in all *Negotiations*. Now *Gondomar* in a State-passage, desired Him to speak *Spanish*, and on the Bishops refusal thereof, *My Lord* (said the *Don*) *does not spoil your good, turning it into scurvy Latin, and it will make as good Spanish as any in the World*. It seems he was of my *Mind* in this present Controversie.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. *Ibid*. *The Hebrew the common Tongue of the whole world, before it was inclin'd (that is to say, divided) into several Languages.* An Opinion as common as the other, and as weakly grounded, such as I marvel at in our Author, who having travel'd over all the *Holy-Land*, should have been better studied in the true nature and original of the *Holy-Tongue*.

Fuller.

It is strongly grounded on convincing arguments, as God willing shall soon appear.

The Animadvertisers marvelling why I am no better studied in the nature and original of the Hebrew Tongue, who (as he saith) have travel'd over the *Holy-Land*, mooveth me more to admire, that he himself should be so utterly ignorant in the *Brasilian, Mexican, Ethiopian, Persian, Indian, and Tartarian* Tongues ; but especially in the *China* language, one letter whereof he did never understand ; although he hath writt'n a general Geographie of the whole world.

Dr. Heylin.

Nor is it the opinion only, that this Tongue was spoken universally before the Flood, and even in *Paradise* it self in the state of Innocency, but that it shall be spoken in the Celestial *Paradise*, the language of the Saints in glory.

Fuller.

I will not ingage my self in such a point of meer curiosity ; yet is it not improbable, that it might be spoken in *Paradise*, seeing the word *Paradise*, and *Eden* in Greek, is borrowed, as Critics confesse, from *עדן* the Hebrew word. Besides, it is not probable that *Adam* lost his Language with his Innocence ; and that he spake Hebrew after his fall, shall immediatly be proved.

Less will I trouble my self what Language the glorified Saints shall speak in Heaven, though I am sure that *Hallelujah, praise ye the Lord* ; is pure Hebrew. When people report unreasonably improbable passages from forain far distant Countries, we commonly return, *That it is better to believe them, than to goe thither to confute them*. But if any have over confidently affirmed, that the Saints in glory shall speak Hebrew, let us rather labour to goe thither to confute them, than here to believe them. Meantime let us here take heed of the malicious language of Detraction against our Brethren, and of scurrilous and profane Language, whereby Piety may be dishonoured.

Dr. Heylin.

In so much that some good women of my old acquaintance, were once very eagerly bent to learn this Language, for fear (as I conceive) they should not chat it handsomly when they came to heaven.

Fuller.

The Doctors Book bears the title of *NECESSARY Animadversions* ; But if this be one, let it even serve the Reader for his *NECESSARY* use.

I indeed have read of *Cato*, who having heard some Philosophers maintain that the

the Heathen gods spake Greek in *Heaven*, being past sixtie years old, he began to learn the Greek, that after death he might the better converse with them; a project and practise proportionable enough to Pagan principles: The analogy whereof is too applyable to some *prophane mounthes* of our age, who by execrable *oaths* and *Curses* practise *aforeband* to blaspheme, rendring themselves (without their serious and seasonable repentance) in a neerer capacity to discourse with the *Devils* and *Damned* in Hell. But of *chatting of Hebrew in Heaven*, this is the first, and I hope it shall be the last time I shall meet with the expression.

## Dr. Heylin.

Now for the ground thereof, it is no other than an old *Jewish Tradition*, importing, that this being the common Language of all people before the Flood, was afterwards appropriated unto *Phaleg* (the son of *Heber*) and to his Posterity, because not present with the rest at the building of *Babel*, and consequently not within the curse of confounded Languages. But against this it is disputed; first that it is but a *Tradition*, and therefore of no sure foundation to build upon.

Heylins Cosmog. pag. 17.

## Fuller.

Before we come to the serious examination of the point in hand, I would fain be satisfied what means this marginal note, (*Heylins Cosmographie, page 19.*) What? Doth he alledge himself to prove his own opinion: my bad *Heraldry* was never guilty of such a fault, *metal upon metal*.

Now that the *Hebrew* was the common Tongue of the world, before the Confusion at *Babel*, is more than a *meer Tradition*, being backs with many Authorities and unanswerable Arguments.

Of Authorities, we begin with *St. Hierom*, one who is many Authors in this Point (because of his great and general skil in Languages) and who in his Comment on *Zephany, chap. 3. 18.* affirmeth; *Lingua Hebraica omnium Linguarum esse Matricem, that the Hebrew is the Mother of all Languages.* *St. Augustine, lib. 10. cap. 1. de Civitate Dei, Quae prius humana generi non immerito creditur esse communis, ideo deinceps Hebraea est nuncupata.*

To these I will add a *Jury* of publicke Professors, all of Eminent note, since the reviving of Languages in the Western world.

1. *Mercerus, Professor Parisiensis Regius, in Gen. 11. l. 1.*

2. *D. Pareus, Prof. Heidelberg. in eundem locum.*

3. *Rivetus, Prof. Leiden. Isay c. 4.*

4. *Crinesius, Prof. Aldorpbini Noricor. de confusione Linguarum, pag. 4.*

5. *Joh. Buxtorfius senior, in Epist. ded. Thesauri Grammat.*

6. *Joh. Buxtorfius junior, Prof. Basil. de origine Primigeniae Linguae, in q. 1.*

7. *Glossus, Prof. Jena, lib. 4. tract. 3. de nomine proprio, pag. 775.*

8. *Polyander, Prof. Leid. Orat. 18. in laudem linguae Hebraeae, pag. 296, 297.*

9. *Thiembelinus, Profess. Heb. Linguae, Cantabrigiae.*

10. *Fr. Junius, Prof. Heidelberg. in Gen. 11. 1. Verbis isidem, &c.*

11. *Whitakerus, Prof. Cantab. Conv. 11. quast. 2. de scriptura.*

12. *Christ. Beckman, de prop. voc. significatiue, pag. 30.*

\* For the elder Buxtorf and Beckman, I am as certain they were, as uncertain were, as publicke Professors.

These Authorities are seconded with convincing Arguments. Not to insist on some Ruines and Reliques of *Hebrew*, scattered in all ancient Languages (and therefore *Jo. Strabon* hath his last (as surest) recourse to it in his *Quest* after the origination of Words) Names imposed on Persons before the Confusion of Tongues, are by the Spirit in Scripture (the best Interpreter) made to speak pure *Hebrew*.

Not to instance in *Adam*, notoriously known for red Earth, we take notice of,

\* Gen 3. 10.

1. *Eve* \* or *Chavah*, so called by her husband, *Because she was the Mother of all living*, and there is life enough in her Name to justify it.

\* Gen 4. 1.

2. *Cain* \*, so called by his Mother, rejoicing that she had gotten a Man, and the word



word signifieth a *Possession*, though therein She (with many other parents, abused by their own over-affection) promised her self more happiness than was performed.

3. *SETH*\*, so named by his mother, for God (said she) hath *APPOINTED* me \* Gen. 4. 25. another seed, &c. and signifieth one put, placed, or constituted.

4. *Noah*\*, so named by his Father, because *this son* (said he) shall comfort us, \* Gen. 5. 24. &c. as the word doth import.

5. *Peleg*\*, the son of *Heber*, may be presumed born at or immediately after the divisions of the World into *Languages*, and *Colonies*, and brooks division in his name. \* Gen. 10. 25.

It is not to be expected that all the whole sentence (spoken by their parents) should be completely contained in their name, but onely that the most *operative*, *emphatical*, and *expressive* word, should appear therein.

I am not ignorant that *Goropius Becanus* in his Book, which is rather *smiled at* for the *wis*, than *approved* for the judgement therein, deriveth all words from the *German* or *Dutch* Tongue. An *handsome* and pretty *Essay*, but I believe that the *Animadversor* is not of his opinion.

It is one thing here and there to take a name, and to make it *countenance* such a *sense*; and another thing to *charge through and through*, so as all names may be demonstrated *Hebrew* in persons born before the confusion of *Babel*.

How *vain* would He prove himself, who from the name of *AHIMAN*\* (one of \* Numb. 13. 22. the giant sons of *Anak*) and from some correspondency of *height* in our Language, would thence infer, that *English* was the ancient Tongue spoken in the Land of *Canaan*.

But I have stayed too long on this discourse, and refer the rest unto Doctor *Brian Walton*, who in his Preface unto the last and very *laborious* and *judicious* Edition of the *Hebrew* and *many languag'd Bible*, hath no lesse *learnedly* than *copiously* handled this Subject.

Dr. Heylin.

And secondly, that it is such a *Tradition*, as holds no good coherence with the truth of Story, it being a most clear and demonstrative truth, that the *Hebrew* tongue was not the Language which *Abraham* brought with him out of *Chaldea* and *Mesopotamia*, but that which he found spoken in the Land of *Canaan* at his coming thither, to which both he and his posterity did conform themselves. Or had it been the Language of *Heber*, as they say it was, (but most undoubtedly was not) yet, thirdly, had this been a privilege conferred on *Heber*, that he and his posterity should speak the Original Language without alteration or corruption, it must have been extended to all those of the house of *Jocktan*, which descend from him; as also to the house of *Laban* in *Padan-Aram*, and to the *Moabites*, and the *Ammonites*, as the seed of *Lot*; and finally to the *Medianites*, *Ishmaelites*, and *Idumeans*, descended of *Abraham* and *Esau*; and not be limited and confined onely to the House of *Jacob*. Now that the language which afterwards was, and still is called by the name of the *Hebrew*, was spoken vulgarly in the Land of *Canaan* before the coming of *Abraham* thither, is not affirmed by *Brerewood* onely, but by *Scaliger*, *Grotius*, *Vossius*, *Bochartus*, (all of them men of great renown for their learned studies) and by many others of this age. By most of which it is affirmed also, that the name of *Hebrews* was given unto them by the people of *Canaan*, not in regard of their descent from *Heber* the father of *Phaleg*, but from *Abraham* passing over the River *Euphrates*, when he came out of *Chaldea* with his Family to dwell amongst them; that name in the *Canaanitish* language signifying as much as *trajiciens* or *transfluvialis*; and therefore not unfitly given by them to *Abraham* at his first coming thither. And if the *Hebrew* (as we now call it) was that Holy Language which was spoken in *Paradise*, continued by the *Patriarchs* before the *Flood*, and after to the building of *Babel*; it must needs seem infinitely strange, that it should be reserv'd onely amongst the *Canaanites*, accursed in the person of *Canaan* (their common Parent) by his Grandfather *Noah*, and so abominated by God for their filthy wickednesses, that he resolv'd to spew them out of their Na-

tive Country, as in fine he did. Or if *Abraham* brought it with him also, when he came into the Land of *Canaan*, he must needs leave it behinde him also amongst the *Chaldees*, where he was born, and where his Ancestors had dwelt before their removal unto *Haran*. And yet we know that the *Hebrew Tongue* was so different from the *Chaldean*, that when the *Jews* returned from the *Captivity of Babylon*, where they had been accustomed to, and bred up for the most part in the *Chaldean Language*, they could not understand the very words of the *Hebrew Text* without an Interpreter, as is apparant in the eighth chapter of *Nehemiah*, vers. 7. 8. But of this Argument enough, let us now goe forward.

Fuller.

There be Three distinct Questions, which the *Animadversor* doth purposely huddle together for his own advantage.

1. Whether the *Hebrew* was the common Tongue of the old World.
2. Whether the *Hebrew* was so preserved in the posterity of *Heber*, and so confined to his Family, that no other communicated therein.
3. Whether *Abraham* did bring the *Hebrew Tongue* into the Land of *Canaan*, or rather found it there, as spoken formerly by the *Natives* thereof.

Such as maintain the first, of the *Coevity* of the *Hebrew* with the *World* and *Mankind*, are not necessarily obliged to defend the two latter.

I said and onely said, (as neither inforcing it, nor inferring any thing thence) that the *Hebrew* was the common Tongue of the world, and have proved it. The rest I am ready to say, so soon as the affirming thereof shall lye in my way, or make for my work, and then (God willing) I will defend my position. Til then I will gratifie the *Animadversor* with no other Answer; and that for these reasons: 1. To shew my own liberty, that I am free born, and not bound to lacquey after his *Animadversions* when I have no businesse of my own. 2. To wear him from morosenesse, by not indulging too much to his humor therein. Lastly, to spare time, my own, and the *Readers* pains now, that we may the more seasonably spend them hereafter, on matter of more importance.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 69. *As Pitheus a Catholick Writer would have it.* A *Roman Catholicke* if you will, but no *catholick Writer*. And much I wonder, that an Author so averse from the Church of *Rome*, should give the Title of *Catholick* to a stickler in the *Romish Quarrel*; though others of lesse zeal and prudence doe commonly but inconsiderately bestow it on them. A Title which they take with joy, and from thence suck unto themselves no small advantage. *Adco probanda est Ecclesia nostra à nomine Catholici, quod extorquet etiam ab invitis Hæreticis*, as is bragged by *Barclay*. But as *Pope Gregory* pleading against the *Patriarch of Constantinople*, who had then assum'd unto himself the name of *Oecumenical Bishop*, advertiseth all the rest of that sacred Order; *Si ille est Universalis, restat ut vos non sitis Episcopi*: so may I say with reference to the present case. By gratifying these men with the name of *Catholicks*, we doe unwittingly confesse our selves to be no *Christians*, or at least but *Hereticks*.

Parentf. ad  
S. olos p 99.

Greg. M.  
Epist. 70.

Fuller.

Had I called *Pits* a *Roman Catholick*, then the *Animadversor* would have charged me with a contradiction, of a particular general. To clear all, *Catholick* shall be deleted in the next Edition, and *Papist* placed in the room thereof.

It is no great wonder if my *Pen*, perusing many Authors of the *Romish* persuasion, hath got a smatch of their language. But the danger is the lesse, seeing the *Animadversor* will be my *compurgator*, that my judgement is not inclined to their erroneous Opinions. However, he might have omitted this Note, who in his book against Mr. *Sanderson*, calleth the whole Lump of English *Papists*, the *Catholick Party*; as also he termeth them so in his *View of the Life of King Charles*,



Page 27. the two first lines.

A necessity lay on Prince Charles (then in Spain) of keeping

at that time a plausible correspondence with the

Catholic PARTY.

Nor can He justly condemn that in me, which He committeth in himself.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 76. Oxford lays claim to the Antiquities of Crekelade and Lechlade, two ancient Schools of Greek and Latine, as some would have it, removed afterwards to Oxford, &c. J. The like we finde fol. 117. where our Author telleth us of two Towns on the banks of the Isis, the one call'd Grekelade, in which the Greek, the other Lechlade, or Latinlade, in which the Latin Tongue was taught by Philosophers. Most miserably mistaken in both places. For though Crekelade, or Grekelade may import a study of Greek Philosophers, as some are ready to believe, yet certainly Lechlade in no Language will signifie the like study of the Latine Tongue. The Countrey people (as it seems) doe better understand themselves than our Author doth. Amongst whom there is a common Tradition, that Crekelade was a University of Greek Philosophers, Lechlade of Leeches, or Physicians, as the name doth intimate; and Latens, a small Village betwixt both, to be the place of study for the Latine Tongue. But though the people are mistaken in the Etymon of the name of Lechlade, yet are they not so far out as our Author is, in making Lechlade or Latinlade, to be both the same place and of the same signification; whereas in truth that Town is so denominated from the River Lech, which arising in the Hills of Cotswold, passeth first by Northlech, from thence to Eastlech, and finally falleth into the Thames neer St. Johns-bridge in this Parish of Lechlade. As for the University of Oxford, which from hence took beginning, as our Author hath it, and the antiquity thereof, I shall not meddle at the present, though our Author, forgetting the Subject which he was to write of, takes all occasions to hook in every old Tradition, (though lesse probably grounded) to justify the seniority of the younger Sisters.

Camden in  
wils. 247.

Fuller.

I live and learn, being in this particular beholden to the Animadversor. It seems there be three places neer one another,

1. Crekelade, 2. Lechlade, 3. Latens, where Greek, Physick, and Latin, are reported professed.

The last of these I never heard of before, and since have never seen in any Map [Shoxtons, Camdens, Speeds;] so that it seems an inconsiderable Village. However my next Edition, God willing, shall be reformed accordingly. And yet I might justly discount this my mistake, and make it goe for nothing, by setting another of the Animadversors over against it, when in the close of his last Note he informeth us, that the River Lech falleth into the Thames in the Parish of Lechlade: Whereas Thames is more than eighteen miles from Lechlade by Land, (and thirty by water) not taking the name until the confluence of same with Isis, neer to Dorchester in Oxfordshire. This small Error I had passed over in silence; but because I have to doe with an Adversary, who lyeth at catch for the least advantage, and therefore he ought not to be defended, if I know him the late measure I receive from him.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 78. Deira, whence, some say, Deirham or Durham, lay betwixt Tees and Humber. J. More out of this, than in his Lechlade or Latinlade, which before we had. For first Dardam is not so called quasi Deirham.

Fuller.

Fuller.

It seems that the *Animadversor* playeth alwayes at *In* and *In*, and I, alas, at *Out* and *Out*; But herein I am not out one hairs breadth, as soon will appear.

Dr. Heylin.

Our learned Antiquary gives us a better and more certain derivation of it. "The River (saith he) as though it purposed to make an Island, compasseth almost on every side, the chief City of this Province, standing on a Hill, whence the Saxons gave it the name of *Dunholm*. For as you may gather out of Bede, they called an Hill *Dun*, and a River *Island Holme*. Hereof the *Latine Writers* have made *Dunelmum*, the Normans, *Duresme*; but the common people most corruptly *Durham*."

Fuller.

Our learned Antiquary (though here not named) doth name himself even Mr. Camden. I ever did and doe believe, that he giveth the true Denomination of *Durham*, so called from *Dunholm*.

But let me ad, that I may lawfully, without the least fault, give in also another etymologie, (though not true, yet probable) which I meet with in perusing of several Writers.

*Mercator*, in his Description of Italy, saith some will have it so called *quasi Vitalis*, from the fairest and fittest Calves bred therein, though I believe that he himself did not believe it to be true, but onely relates it as he found it in *Festus*. I may challenge the like liberty of presenting etymologies of places, as tendered to me by other Authors.

Dr. Heylin.

But secondly (which marrs all the matter) the Bishoprick of *Durham* was not in the Kingdome of *Deira*, as being wholly situate on the North side of the Tees, and consequently part of the Realm of *Bernicia*, which makes our Authors mistake in another place, fol. 51. the more remarkable, where speaking of the Kingdome of *Deira*, he gives us this Comment in the Margin, (*viz.*) *What this day is the Bishoprick of Deirham or Durham*.

Fuller.

Be it here rather repeated than inserted; that in the *Saxon Heptarchy*, liminary Counties, did march and retreat, dilated and contracted by their Princes successes.

As for the Bishoprick of *Durham*, (though sometimes it might belong to *Bernicia*) yet generally it was the North-east boundary of the Kingdome of *DEIRA*, as in the Archbishop of *Armagh* doth plainly appear,

De Brit. Ecclesi. primord. pag. 139.

Lancashire

Yorkshire

Deiri possessed

Westmorland

Cambridg

Bishoprick of Durham

Let me add, that He is a *Saxon* (evened *fratians*) as any who ever wrote of the partage of the *Saxon Heptarchy*.

Dr. Heylin.

But as long as *some* say so, all is well, though who those *some* are (except our Author) I can no where finde. Onely I find, that as it is held necessary for a *No body* to be in all great Houses, to bear the blame of such mischances as by the carelesse



ness of servants and inconsideratenesse, doe too often happen; so is it no lesse necessary, that there should be a *some-body* also in all great undertakings to bear the blame of such misfortunes as our *Adventurers* at wit doe as often meet with.

Fuller.

What if Hee *can no where finde it*, doth it therefore follow, that it is not to be found? Will he *presume* that his own reading is *adequate* to things being?

This *No-body*, so much derided by the *Animadversor*, will at last appear *some-body*, even Mr. John Fox,

*Acts & Mon. pag. 149. last Edition.*

Deira, a part of North-Saxons, whereof, as it is thought, that which we now call Deirham taketh his name.

Thus, Reader, I have discharged my self from all appearance of fault, by producing my Author, a learned and able Historian, how meanly soever the *Animadversor* may be pleased to esteem him.

Dr. Heylin.

And such a *some-body* as this, our Author hath found out to be the father of another conceit of his concerning *Teyburn* (that I may take in this also whilest it is in my minde) of which he tells us *lib. 4. fol. 168. That some have deduced the etymologie of Teyburn from Ty and Burn*; because forsooth the Lord Cobham was there *hang'd and burnt*. Whereas indeed it was so named from the *Tey*, or *Teybourn*, a small Brook passing neer unto it in the former times. Which Brook or Bourn arising nor far from *Paddington*, hath since been drawn into several Conduits for the use of the City.

Fuller.

I have heard of the *Animadversors* etymologie, and believe it probable. I have also been informed from good *Antiquaries*, that the true name is *Twey-BORN*, from *two little Brooks* (wherewith it is *insulated* in the *Winter*) running neer to it.

The deduction of *Tye-BORN*, alias *I BURN*, from *burning of Lollards*, I protest I did read in *Harpfield*, and it is none of my own invention.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. *Fol. 69. A place so marked, being foretold fortunate to Eneas to found Alba (since Rome) therein.* A passage as well stor'd with Errors as the rest before, and such a piece of fine new learning, as never any Antiquary had found out till now. For first, *Eneas* was not the founder of *Alba*, though that the place design'd unto him for the seat of his Kingdom. The building of that City was the work of *Ascanius*, as we finde in *Virgil*.

*At puer Ascanius — Regnumq; à sede Lavini  
Transferet, & longam multa vi munit Albam.*

That is to say,

*Ascanius* from *Lavinum* shall translate  
To *Alba* strongly fenc'd, the Regal State.

And secondly *Alba* was not built in the place where *Rome* since stood, but *duodecimo ab Urbe lapide*, about twelve miles off. For though the River *Tiber* in some ancient Writers hath the name of *Albula*, yet I never found in any Writer either old or new (till I incounterd it in our Author) that *Rome* was anciently called *Alba*.

E e

Fuller.

Fuller.

Rather than any difference shall arise betwixt us about this matter, the Parenthesis [*since Rome*] shall be altered into [*near Rome*] and then I hope all shall be right and strait beyond exception.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 104. *It is admirable to consider what Sholes of People were formerly vented out of Cimbrica Chersonesus, take it in the largest extent, for Denmark, Norway, and Swedeland.* And in the largest extent it is taken indeed, such as no Author ever gave it before this time. The *Cimbrick Chersonese*, truly and properly so call'd, comprehended onely those parts of the Kingdom of Denmark which we now call *Jutland*, divided by the River *Eydore* from the Dukedome of *Holstein*. *Ortelius*, and some late Geographers make it to take up all that *Languet*, or piece of Land on the North of Germany, extended from the River *Albis* in the South, and stretching Northward to that part of the Ocean which leads into the narrow Strait, or passage now called *Sundt*. But never any till our Author, extended this name over those great Kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Swedeland, or unto any part of either beyond the *Sundt*. And yet he had need stretch it a great deal further before he can finde place in it for his *Huns*, and *Vandals*; of which the first inhabited in *Asia*, beyond the *Fens* of *Mæotis*; the last upon the Coast of the *Baltick Sea* in Germany, now the Dukedom of *Mecklenburg*.

Fuller.

That Denmark, Norway, and Swedeland are a *Chersonesus*, or almost an Island, the Animadvertor will not deny. But that I called them the *Cimbrian Chersonese*, cannot clearly be collected from those my words, *take it in the largest extent*; which amount onely to a Concession, to such who have a mind so to accept it, and to extend the bounds thereof.

Here plainly to discover my judgement, I conceive that those *Sholes of People*, did not, and yet did, come out of the *Cimbrick Chersonese*, in the strickt and true acception thereof.

They did not, that is, they came not thence, as having all their birth therein. *Jutland*, not so big as *Yorkshire*, and the *Languet* the Animadvertor speaks of, not bigger than *Wales*, being *Hives* too little to hold such *swarmes* and *Castes* of People.

Yet I believe they did come out of that *Chersonese* immediatly, it being most probable, that out of the opposite Continent of Norway and Swedeland, they crossed the *Baltick-Sea*, being narrowest thereabouts, and so came into *Jutland*, and thence Inunded the most of Europe.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 125. *Datum in Grantecestria, Anno ab incarnatione Domini 915. venerabili Fratri Frithstano, Civitatis Sclorum Cambrig. Cancellario, & Doctori per suum, &c.* These words are the conclusion of an ancient Charter, suppos'd to have been given to the Scholars of Cambridge by King Edward the elder; against which our Author fancies one objection, which he thinks easie to be answered, but utterly leaves out another, which I think unanswerable. The objection which our Author makes against it, is the barbarous style and language of it; which if it be a good objection against this Charter, will be as strong against all the Charters of this age, as some ages following in which there was but little of the Elegancies of the *Latine tongue*. And therefore this objection might have well been spared, but that our Author would be thought to deal very equally in the business, by saying all that might be said against himself.

Fuller.

I plead my last General Answer, discharging my self, because I did there charge my



my Margin with two Authors (besides *Clareball* in *Cambridge*, where this *Charter* is extant) *Thomas Rudburn*, and *John Rouse* of *Warwick*. I did not engage with any earnestness for the *Charter*, *per me si non VALEAT, VALEAT*. Yet let me add, that following *Arguments* of the *Animadvertor*, are so farre from *shattering*, they doe not shake the credit thereof.

Dr. Heylin.

But yet I have another objection which he takes no notice of, because not so easie to be answered; which is, that *Frithstan* (whatsoever he was) is here honoured with the degree of *Doctor*, and the title of *Chancellor*. But first I would fain know where *Frithstan* took the degree of *Doctor*, and in what faculty he took it; that title in those early dayes being so unusual, as hardly to be found amongst the *Attributes* of the learnedst men. Secondly, I conceive it to be very hard, I had almost said impossible, for him to prove, that the chief Officer of *Cambridge*, (admitting it at that time for a place of learning) had the name of *Chancellor*. When I shall see some proof of this, and some satisfaction, I shall give some credit to the *Charter*, till then, none at all.

Fuller.

The name of *Doctor* is threefold, first, for a *Teacher at large*, extant in *Scripture*, *Art thou a \* Doctor in Israel, and knows not these things?*

\* John 3. 30.

Secondly, as a title of Dignity fixed by a *Society* of learned men, on some eminent person amongst them.

Thirdly, for one solemnly and ceremoniously graduated by a *Professor* in some particular faculty, and the word in this sense is not of so great seniority.

I take *Doctor* in this *Charter* in the second acceptation thereof.

And here I cannot but commend the *marinesse* of the *Animadvertors* words; that the *Title of Doctor* is hardly to be found in those early dayes. He hath read the *Rule of Grammarians*, *Quod fere fit, non fit; quod vix fit, fit; what is almost done, is not done; what is scarcely or hardly done, is done*. He knew that the *Title of Doctor* began to come into request in that Age.

Thus *Bale* and *Piss* (but both of them, as they confesse; taking their word from a better *Antiquary*, *J. Leland*) writing of *BRIDFERTUS*, contemporary with our *Frithstan* in the same Generation, dying about the year 980.

Monachus & DOCTOR Anglus in  
Cenobio Ramfienfi.

As for the name *Chancellor*, it was (as in *Sir H. Spelman* his *Glossary* doth appear) used at and before this time by the *Saxons* for a prime officer (though generally the *Secretary*) and therefore no such improbability that the *Chief* of *Cambridge* might be so denominated.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 139. *Cambridgeshire men claim an ancient (now antiquated) priviledge to lead the Van in all Battels.* Zealous alike, not onely for the *University*, but the *County* of *Cambridge*, his zeal in both transporting him beyond his knowledge into dark adventures. Some Authors he pretends to for the *University*, for this priviledge none, telling us onely that he hath read it, though he know not where. But I can tell him when and where I have read the contrary, that is to say, in learned *Camden*, who ascribes this Honour to the *Kentish*. For this he cites not onely the authority of a namelesse *Monk*, but the words of *Johannes Sarubariensis* in his *Polycraticon*, which are these that follow, For good desert (saith he) of that notable valour which *Kent* shewed so puissantly and patiently against the *Danes*, it retaineth still unto these dayes in all *Battails* the first and foreward, yea and of the first conflict with the *Enemy*. And if this priviledge was given the *Kentish* for their valour shew'd against the *Danes*, it could neither be given to the men

Camd. in  
Kent, 324.

men of *Cambridgeshire*, as our Author would, nor on the same occasion as he saith it was.

Fuller.

I have read, that when at the taking of a City by the Romans, two soldiers contended for the CROWN-MURAL, (each pleading he first scaled the walls) that the General caused two Crowns-Mural to be made, affirming that on serious examination of all circumstances, both appeared to him mounting the walls in the same moment; and so rewarding them both, prevented a Mutiny of part-taking in the Army.

This controversy is not capable of the same expedient, seeing one cannot make two VANS at once in the same Army, yet may we distinguish of several Times, and accommodate the contest.

King Arthur in his time, gave the conduct of the Front to the Cornish,

\* Carew in  
Cornwall.

*Nobilis \* Arthurus nobis dat primitus ictum.*

\* Cronicon.  
pag. 887.

*Cambridgeshire* might afterwards have that honour conferred on them, the words of \* *Brimpton*, though not cleaving the pin, touch the mark in this point, *Unde Anglis regnantibus laus CANTABRIGIENSIS PROVINCIAE splendeflorabat.*

Yet the dignity being but temporary, and disposable at the Princes pleasure, in reward of new Services, the *Kentish* had it afterward bestowed on them, and for a long time enjoyed it.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 141. *It did not afterwards embolden him to the anticipation of the Crown, attending till it descended upon him.* He speaks this of King Edward the Confessor, who had he tarried till the Crown had descended on him, might possibly have found a place amongst the Confessors, but not amongst the Kings of England. For the truth is, the right title to the Crown was at that time in Edward surnamed the Outlaw, the eldest son of Edmund Ironside, who flying into Hungary to avoid the fury of the Danes, married the Kings sister of that Country, and was by her the Father of Edgar Atheling, and of Margaret wife to Malcolm Connor King of the Scots. But these being absent at that time, Emma the Mother of Prince Edward, and Widow to Canutus the Dane, took the opportunity to set her son upon the Throne, as being not onely half-brother to King Edmund Ironside, but also half-brother, and consequently nearest Kinsman to Canutus the second; which if it were a good descent, will plead almost as strongly for King Harald as it did for him.

Fuller.

My words are true, and not subject to just exception, which I confined onely to King Edward his relation to his own brethren. The legend of his life reports him to be crowned, when unborn, in his Mothers Belly, and having six elder Brethren by the same father King Ethelred:

- |               |            |           |
|---------------|------------|-----------|
| 1. Ethelstan, | 3. Edmond, | 5. Edwy,  |
| 2. Egbert,    | 4. Edred,  | 6. Edgar. |

(Some of which came to the Crown, others died in their minority.) King Edward (though thus pre-crowned) did not endeavor to ante-date his possession of the Throne, before his elder Brethren, but waited till the title (as it was derived unto him from his father) descended on him. Otherwise I advocate not for Him, if He took it from any other, who had more right to it than himself.

Dr. Heylin.

But by what means soever he got the Crown, he deserved to wear it.

Fuller.



Fuller.

I cannot cordially close with the *Animadversions* expression herein, being sensible of no *Desert*, which in this Case is not attended with a true *Title*: For who shall judge of the desert of *Compositors*? If the person himself, then every usurper will cry up his own *worthiness*. If his party, they will make him most meriting whom they favour most in their fancies. This will unsettle all *States*, *cassat* all *Titles*, and cause much distraction. But believing no *It* as all intended in these his words, let us proceed.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author telleth us, *ibid.* That whereas formerly there were manifold Laws in the Land, made, some by the Britains, others by the Danes, others by the English, &c. He caused some few of the best to be selected, and the rest as captious and unnecessary, to be rejected; from whence they had the name of the Common Laws. That the Common-Law was so call'd, because compounded of the Saxon, British, and Danish Lawes, which were before of force onely in such places where the Danes, Britains and Saxons had the greatest sway; though it be easie to be said, will be hard to be proved. The Britains at that time liv'd under their own Princes, and were governed by their own Lawes, and so they were for a long time after; so that King Edward, having no dominion over them, could not impose a Law upon them. Nor was it propable that he should borrow any of their Laws, or impose them on his natural Subjects, considering the antipathy and disaffection betwixt the Nations. There were at that time indeed in England three kindes of Laws: The first called *Dane-lage*, or the Danish Laws, prevailing for the most part in the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*, and that of *Northumberland*: Secondly, *Saxon-lage*, used generally in the Kingdoms of the *West-Saxons*, *East-Saxons*, *South-Saxons*, and that of *Kent*: And thirdly, *Mercen-lage*, extending over all the Provinces of the Kingdome of *Mercia*. As for the Britains of *Coriwall* and *Cumberland*, they had no distinct Law for themselves (as had those of *Wales*) but were governed by the Laws of that Nation unto which they were Subject. By these three sorts of Laws were these Nations governed in their severall and respective limits, which being afterwards reduced into one body, and made common equally to all the subjects, did worthily deserve the name of the Common-Law. But secondly I dare not give the honour of this Action to King Edward the Confessor. The great *Justinian* in this work was another Edward, called, for distinctions sake, King Edward the elder, who began his Reign *Anno* 900. almost 150 years before this Confessor, to whom our Author hath ascribed it. But the truth is, that these Laws being suppressed by the Danish Kings, who governed either in an arbitrary way, or by Laws of their own Countrey, they were revived and reinforced in the time of this Edward, from whence they had the name of Edward the Confessors Laws, and by that name were sued and fought for in the time succeeding, of which more hereafter. Now as this work may be ascribed to his love to Justice, so from his piety, his successors derive as great a benefit of curing the disease which from thence is called the Kings-Evil, which some impute (as our Author tells us) to secret and hidden causes.

Fuller.

This long Note might well have been boiled down from a Gallon to a Gil, to make it more *cordial*. If the Reader can pick any information out of it, much good may it doe him. Let the honour of so good a Deed, with all my heart, be parted betwixt the two Edwards; one the *Beginner*, the other the *finisher* thereof.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 145. Others ascribe it to the power of fancy and an exalted imagination. Amongst which others, I may reckon our Author for one. He had not else so strongly pleaded in defence thereof. But certainly what effect

F f

soever

soever the strength of *fancy* and an *exalted imagination*, as our Author calls it, may produce in those of riper years, it can contribute nothing to the cure of children. And I have seen some children brought before the King by the hanging sleeves, some hanging at their Mothers breasts, and others in the arms of their Nurses, all touch'd and cur'd without the help of any such fancies or imaginations as our Author speaks of.

Fuller.

If I be *reckoned* amongst them, I am *mis-reckoned*, for though I conceive fancy may much conduce, in *Adultis*, thereunto, yet I believe it *partly Miraculous*, as may appear by my *last* and *largest* insisting thereon. I say *partly*, because a compleat Miracle is done *presently* and *perfectly*, whereas this cure is generally advanced by Degrees, and some *Days* interposed.

Dr. Heylin.

Others lesse charitably condemn this cure as guilty of superstition, quarrelling at the Circumstances and Ceremonies which are used. And this they doe (saith he *ibid.*) *either displeased as the Collect, consisting of the first nine verses of the Gospel of St. John, as wholly improper, and nothing relating to the occasion, &c.*] Our Author tels us more than once, *lib. 11. 167.* of his being a *Clerk of the Convocation*, but I finde by this, that he never came so high as to be *Clerk of the Closet*.

Fuller.

I never was (nor the Animadverſor neither) *Clerk of the Closet*, *Non tanto me dignor honore*. But I have had the honor to see the King solemnly *Heal* in the *Quire* of the *Cathedral of Sarisbury*, though, being so long since, I cannot recover all particulars.

Dr. Heylin.

Which had he been, he would not have mistaken the *Gospel* for a *Collect*; or touched upon that *Gospel* which is lesse material, without insisting on the other, which is more pertinent and proper to the work in hand; or suffered the displeased party to remain unsatisfied about the *sign of the Crosse made by the Royal Hands on the place infected* (as it after followed) when there is no such crossing used in that sacred Ceremony, the King only gently drawing both his hands over the sore at the reading of the first Gospel.

Fuller.

I fully *satisfie* the *displeased party*, (if he be not through *weaknesse* nor *wilfulnesse* incapable thereof) about the *Sign of the Crosse*, in those my words immediately following.

*All which exceptions fall to the ground when it shall be avowed, That the Kings bare Hands, notwithstanding the omission of such Ceremonies have effected the Healing.*

Take it pray as since it is set down in more ample manner in a late Book, which I know not whither it be more *learned* in it *self* or *usefull* to others.

H. le Strange  
Alliances of  
Divine Offices,  
pag. 250.  
As appears  
in Dr. Tuckers  
Charisma p.  
109.

‘ All along K. Edward the sixth, and Queen Elizabeth her reign, when the *Strumosi*, such as had the *Kings-Evil* came to be touch'd, the manner was then, for Her to apply the Sign of the \* *Crosse* to the *Tumor*, which raising a cause of Jealousies, as if some mysterious Operation were imputed to it. That wife and learned King, not only (with his Son the late King) practically discontinued it; but ordered it to be expunged out of the prayers relating to the Cure, which hath proceeded as effectually, that omission notwithstanding, as ever before.

Dr. Heylin.

But that both he and others may be satisfied in these particulars, I have thought fit to lay down the whole form of prayers and readings used in the *healing of that malady* in this manner following.

The



### The form of the Service at the healing of the Kings-Evil.

**T**He first Gospel is exactly the same with that on Ascension day. At the touching of every infirm person, these words are repeated, *They shall lay their hands on the sick, and they shall recover.*

The second Gospel begins the first of St. John, and ends at these words, *Full of grace and truth.* At the putting the Angel about their necks were repeated, *That Light was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.*

Lord have mercy upon us.

Christ have mercy upon us.

Lord have mercy upon us.

Our Father which art in Heaven, hallowed be thy Name, &c.

*Min.* O Lord, save thy servants.

*Answ.* Which put their trust in thee.

*Min.* Send unto them help from above.

*Answ.* And evermore mightily defend them.

*Min.* Help us, O God our Saviour.

*Answ.* And for the glory of thy Names sake deliver us, be mercifull unto us sinners for thy Names sake.

*Min.* O Lord, hear our prayer.

*Answ.* And let our cry come unto thee.

#### The Collect.

Almighty God, the eternal health of all such as put their trust in thee, Hear us, we beseech thee, on the behalf of these thy servants, for whom we call for thy mercifull help, that they receiving health may give thanks unto thee in thy holy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

The peace of God, &c.

This is the whole form, against which nothing is objected, but the using of the words before mentioned at the putting on of the Angel; the pertinency whereof may appear to any who consider that the *Light which was the true Light, and lighteth every man which cometh into the world,* did not shine more visibly, at the least more comfortably upon the people, than in the healing of so many sick, infirm and leprous persons, as did from time to time receive the benefit of it. But it is time I should proceed.

#### Fuller.

I perceive by this office, that I have mistaken the Gospel for the the Collect; which in the next Edition (God willing) shall be rectified.

#### Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 148. *These chose Harald to be King, whose title to the Crown is not worth our deriving of it, much lesse his relying on it.* A Title not so despicable as our Author makes it, nor much inferiour unto that, by which his predecessor obtain'd the Kingdome. Harald being son to Earl Godwin, (the most potent man of all the Saxons) by Thyra the natural daughter of Canutus the first, was consequently Brother by the whole blood to Harald Harfagar, and Brother by the half blood to Canutus the second, the two last Danish Kings of England. In which respect being of Saxon Ancestry by his Father, and of the Danish Royal blood by his Mother, he might be lookt on as the fittest person in that conjuncture, to content both Nations: But whatsoever his Title was, it was undoubtedly better than that of the Norman, had either his success been answerable, or his sword as good.

Fuller.

Fuller.

It was a *despicable Title*, even after the *Animadvector* hath befriended it with his most advantageous representing thereof,

1.	2.
<i>From his Father,</i>	<i>From his Mother,</i>
Earl Godwin, the most potent man of Saxon Ancestry.	Theyra, the natural Daughter of Canutus the first.

As to his Paternal Title, if his Fathers *potencie* was all can be alledged for it, any *Oppressor* hath the same right.

His Maternal Title, if from *Canutus* his *natural* [understand *bise*] Daughter openeth a *Dore* (as I may say) for all who *came in by the window*.

Besides, the *Animadvector* is much mistaken in the name of his Mother, seeing  
 \* *Britan. Lat. Mr. \* Camden saith, E Githa Suenonis Regis Danici Sorore matris fuit: He was born*  
 pag. 104. *of Githa Sister to Sweno King of Denmark.*

Dr. Heylin.

Upon occasion of which Conquest, our Author telleth us that, *Ibid. This was the fifth time wherein the South of this Island was conquered; first by Romans, secondly by Picts and Scots, thirdly by Saxons, fourthly by the Danes, and fifthly by the Norman.*] But this I can by no means yeeld to, the *Scots* and *Picts* not being to be nam'd amongst those Nations who *subdued* the South part of this Island. That they did many times harrahs and depopulate the South part of it, I shall easily grant; but to the subduing of a Countrey, there is more required than to waste and spoil it; that is to say, to fix their dwelling and abode (for some time at least) in the Countrey conquered; to change the Laws, alter the Language, or new mould the Government; or finally, to translate the Scepter from the old Royal Family to some one of their own. None of which things being done in the *Invasions* of the *Scots* and *Picts*, they cannot properly be said to have *subdued* the South parts of the Island, as our Author (out of love perhaps to the *Scots*) would persuade the Reader.

Fuller.

I confesse of all *Five*, the *Picts* and *Saxs* had the *most* short and *uncertain* abode in the South. The distinction is very nice, betwixt *harassing* or *depopulating* of a Countrey and *subduing* it. If I could but *harasse* and *depopulate* (that is but *de-argumenta'te*) the *Animadvector's* Book against me, I doubt not but I should be accounted to *subdue* it.

Why is not my Pen charged with a *love* to the *Picts* (whom I also equally with the *Scots* intitle to this *subduing*) and is a Nation now no where extant, to be the object of my affection.

But this *five-times subduing* of the South of this Island, is in all *Authors* as generally known and received, as that a man hath *five fingers* on his hand. Wherefore no more in Answer to just nothing.

THE





## THE THIRD BOOK

*From the time of the Norman Conquest, to the first preaching of Wickliffe.*

Dr. Heylin.

**W**E are now come unto the times of the *Norman Government*, when the Church began to settle on a surer bottom, both for power and polity; the Bishops lesse obnoxious to the Kings than formerly, because elected by the *Manks and Canons* of their own *Cathedrals*; their *Consistories* free from the intermixture of Lay-assistance, and their *Synods* manag'd by themselves. Wherein though they had power of making such *Synodicall Constitutions* as did *ipso facto* binde all parties, yet our Author is resolv'd to have it otherwise.

Fuller.

All this is but *persuatory*, and therefore my *Answer* not necessary thereunto. The *Animadversor* seemeth to congratulate the Condition of the *English Church*, as better hereafter in the following, than in foregoing Ages.

He instanceth in two particulars *POWER* and *POLITIE*, omitting a third worth Both, *Piety* (to which *Purity* in *Doctrine* may be reduced) which now began more and more to be impaired.

Let me add, that after the *Kings of England* had parted (which indeed was wrested from them) with the *Investing* of Bishops, Bishops became lesse manageable by, and dutiful to their *Prince*, and more insulting over the People: and being lesse *OBNOXIUS* (to use the *Animadversors* word) to the *Sovereign*, were more *NOXIUS* to the *Subjects*.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds, Fol. 19. *The Proceedings* (saith he) *of the Canon Law* were never wholly received into practice in the Land; but so as made subject in whatsoever touched temporals, to *Secular Lawes*, and *National Customes*. And the *Lay* at pleasure limited *Canons* in this behalf. How false this is, how contrary to the power and practice of the Church before the submission of the Clergy to King *Henry the eight*; and finally how dangerous a ground is hereby laid to weaken the Authority of *Convocations*, will best appear by laying down the sum of a *Petition* presented by the *House of Commons* to the same King *Henry*, together with the *Answer* of the *Prelates* and inferior Clergy; then being *Synodically* assembled, to the said *Petition*.

Gg

The

*The substance of the Petition was as followeth, viz.*

Acts of Con-  
voc. Anno  
1532.

“ **T**hat the Clergy of this your Realm, being your Highnesse Subjects, in  
 “ their Convocation by them holden within this your Realm, have made,  
 “ and daily make divers Sanctions or Laws concerning Temporal things, and some  
 “ of them be repugnant to the Laws and Statutes of your Realm, nor having ne-  
 “ cessary requiring your most Royal assent to the same Laws so by them made, nother  
 “ any assent or knowledge of your Lay Subjects, is had to the same, no-  
 “ ther to them published and known in their Mother tongue, albeit divers and  
 “ sundry of the said Laws extend in certain causes to your excellent Person, your  
 “ Liberty and Prerogative Royal, and to the interdiction of your Laws and Pos-  
 “ sessions, and so likewise to the Goods and Possessions of your Lay Subjects,  
 “ declaring the intringers of the same Laws so by them made, not onely to incur  
 “ the terrible censure of Excommunication, but also to the detestable crime and  
 “ sin of Heresie, by the which divers of your humble and obedient Lay Subjects  
 “ be brought into this Ambiguity, whether they may doe and execute your Laws  
 “ according to your jurisdiction Royal of this Realm, for dread of the same Cen-  
 “ sures and pains comprised in the same Laws so by them made in their Con-  
 “ vocations, to the great trouble and inquietation of your said humble and  
 “ obedient Lay Subjects, &c. the impeachment of your Jurisdiction and Pre-  
 “ rogative Royal.

*The Answer thereunto was this.*

“ **T**O this we say, that forasmuch as we repute and take our Authority of ma-  
 “ king Laws to be grounded upon the Scripture of God, and the determina-  
 “ tion of holy Church, which must also be a rule and squier to try the justice and  
 “ righteousness of all Laws, as well Spiritual as Temporal; we verily trust, that  
 “ considering the Laws of this Realm be such as have been made by most Chri-  
 “ stian, religious, and devout Princes and People, how both these Laws proceed-  
 “ ing from one fountain, the same being sincerely interpreted, and after the good  
 “ meaning of the makers, there shall be found no repugnancy, nor contrariety,  
 “ but that the one shall be found as aiding, maintaining, and supporting the other.  
 “ And if it shall otherwise appear, as it is our duty (whereunto we shall alwayes  
 “ most diligently apply our selves) to reform our Ordinances to Gods Commissi-  
 “ on, and to conform our Statutes and Laws, and those of our predecessors, to  
 “ the determination of Scripture and holy Church; so we hope in God, and shall  
 “ daily pray for the same, that your Highnesse will, if there appear cause why,  
 “ with the assent of your People, temper your Graces Laws accordingly.  
 “ Whereby shall ensue a most happy and perfect conjunction and agreement, as  
 “ God being *Lapis angularis*, to agree and conjoyn the same. And as concerning  
 “ the requiring of your Highnesse Royal assent to the authority of such Laws as  
 “ have been by our Predecessors, or shall be made by us in such points and Arti-  
 “ cles as we have by Gods authority to rule and order by such Provisions and  
 “ Laws; we knowing your Highnesss wisdom, and vertue, and learning, nothing  
 “ doubt but the same perceiveth how the granting hereunto dependeth not upon  
 “ our will and liberty. And that we your most humble Subjects may not submit  
 “ the execution of our charge and duty certainly prescribed by God, to your  
 “ Highnesse assent, although in very deed the same is most worthy for your most  
 “ Noble, Princely, and excellent vertues, not onely to give your Royal assent,  
 “ but also to devise and command what we should for good order and manners  
 “ by Statutes and Laws provide in the Church, neverthelesse considering we may  
 “ not so, ne in such sort refrain the doing of our office in the feeding and ruling  
 “ of Christs people your Graces Subjects; we most humbly desiring your Grace



“ as the same hath heretofore, so from henceforth to shew your Graces minde  
 “ and opinion unto us, what your high Wisedome shall think convenient, which  
 “ we shall most gladly hear and follow, if it shall please God to inspire us so to  
 “ doe, with all submission and humility beseech the same, following the steps of  
 “ of your most Noble Progenitors, and conformably to your our own Acts doe  
 “ maintain and defend such Laws, and Ordinances, as we according to our cal-  
 “ ling and by Authority of God, shall for his honour make, to the edification  
 “ of vertue, and maintaining Christs faith, of which your Highnesse is named  
 “ Defender, and hath been hitherto indeed a special Protector.

“ Furthermore whereas your said Lay Subjects say, that sundry of the said  
 “ Laws extend in certain causes to your excellent Person, your Liberry and  
 “ Prerogative Royal, and to the interdiction of your Land and Possessions : To  
 “ this your said Orators say, that having submitted the tryal and examining of  
 “ the Laws made in the Church by us and our Predecessors, to the just and  
 “ straight Rule of Gods Laws, which giveth measure of Power, Prerogative,  
 “ and Authority to all Emperors, Kings, Princes, and Potentates, and all o-  
 “ ther ; we have conceiv'd such opinion, and have such estimation of your Ma-  
 “ jesties goodnesse and vertue, that whatsoever any persons not so well learned  
 “ as your Grace is, would pretend unto the same, whereby we your most hum-  
 “ ble Subjects may be brought in your Graces displeasure and indignation, sur-  
 “ mising that we should by usurpation and presumption, extend our Laws to  
 “ your most noble Person, Prerogative and Realm, yet the same your High-  
 “ nesse being so highly learn'd, will of your own most bounteous goodnesse fa-  
 “ cilly discharge and deliver us from that envy, when it shall appear that the said  
 “ Laws are made by us, or our Predecessors, conformable and maintainable by  
 “ the Scripture of God, and determination of the Church, against which no  
 “ Laws can stand or take effect. Somewhat to this purpose had been before  
 “ endeavour'd by the Commons in the last Parliament of King *Edw. 3.* of which,  
 “ because they got nothing by it, but only the shewing of their teeth without hurt-  
 “ ing any body ; I shall say nothing in this place, reserving it to the time of the  
 “ long Parliament, in the Reign of King *Charles*, when this point was more hotly  
 “ followed, and more powerfully prosecuted than ever formerly.

What sayes our Author unto this ? Findes he here any such matter, as that  
 “ the *Laitie* at their pleasure could limit the *Canons* of the Church ? Or that such *Ca-*  
 “ *nons* in whatsoever touch'd *temporals* were subject unto *secular Laws* and *National Cu-*  
 “ *stomes* ? And hereof I desire the Reader to take special notice, as that which is  
 “ to serve for a *Catholicon*, or general Antidote against those many venomous in-  
 “ sinuations, which he shall meet with up and down in the course of this History.  
 “ As for the case in which our Author grounds this pestilent Position, it was the  
 “ Canon made in a *Synod at Westminster*, in the time of *Anselm*, Anno 1102. prohi-  
 “ biting the sale of men and women like brute beasts in the open Market. Which Ca-  
 “ non not finding presently an universal obedience over all the Kingdome (as  
 “ certainly ill customes are not easily left, when they are countenanced by profit)  
 “ occasioned our Author to adventure upon this bold assertion.

Fuller.

I conceived it uncivil to interrupt the Animadverſor in his long discourse un-  
 “ til he had ended it, and now professe, I know not how it maketh in opposition  
 “ to what I said, and heartily wish that the Reader may understand it better than  
 “ I doe.

It cannot be denyed, but that the Clergy did claim and challenge a power,  
 “ and sometimes *de facto* executed it, over the temporal Estates of the Laitie (for I  
 “ behold the Clergy, more Bound, (because binding themselves by their *represen-*  
 “ *tatives*) unto their *Canons*) yet they never peaceably enjoy'd their Power, as con-  
 “ stantly checkt and controlled by the Laws of the Land, in such things, wherein the  
 “ Temporal Estate, Life and Limb of Persons were concerned.

We have an eminent instance hereof, in the Canon, occasioning this dis-  
 “ course.

course. *Anselme* makes a Constitution (and that indeed charitable and Christian) against the sale of men and women like brute beasts in the open market place. Now such persons sold (slaves and Vassals as I understand it) being the Goods and Chattels of their Masters, the proprietaries and owners of their Bodies, they would not part with their right in obedience to the Canon.

Suppose a Convocation some thirty years agoe should have made a Canon, without any confirmation from Parliament, That no Merchant living in England should by his Factors sell any Negroes or Blacks in the Barbadoes, which formerly he had bought in Guinnie, it would not oblige to the observation thereof, because in such matters wherein *propriety* was concerned, the Canon must say to the Common-Law, By your leave Sir.

I have written nothing in this point, but what I have a good Author for. And seeing the Animadvertor in his Geography hath been pleased to tell a passage betwixt him and his fathers man, let me relate another, wherein my self was concerned, knowing it to be as true, and hoping it to be as well applied.

Some three years since, walking on the Lords-day into the Park at Copsall, the third son (a child in coats) of the Earl of Dorset, desired to goe with me, whereof I was unwilling, fearing he should straggle from me whilest I meditated on my Sermon: And when I told him, that if he went with me, he would lose himself, he returned, *Then you must lose your self first, for I will goe with you.*

This rule I alwayes observe, when meddling with matters of Law, because I my self am a child therein, I will ever goe with a man in that faculty, such as is most eminent in his profession, *a cuius latere non discedam* so that if he lose me, he shall first lose himself, as hereafter when we grapple together in this Controversie, will appear.

As for this particular case (for I will engage no further for the present) this Canon did not dispossesse Masters of their property in their Vassals, and no meaner than Mr. Selden is my conductor herein, styled hereafter by the Animadvertor\*, *that renowned Humanitarian and Philologer.*

Yea I entred my Author in the Margin, had the Animadvertor been pleased to take notice thereof) *Spicileg. ad Edmerium, page two hundred and eight.*

*Neg. sane Canon. hic, aut alia apud nos lata Lex id juris habemus adeo refixit; quin in Jurisconsultorum nostrorum Commentariis passim Legibus quibus utimur consensum agnoscat. Neither truly this Canon, or any other Law made amongst us, hath hitherto unfastened this right; but that in the Comments (or Reports) of our Common-Lawyers, it is acknowledged consonant to those Laws which require. And though in proesse of Time, first conscientious, then all Masters laudibly submitted themselves to this Canon (forbearing such sales;) yet were they not by the Canon devided of the power of Doing it, such vendition and emption being by the Common-Law preserved unto them, though now, very commendably, long disused.*

And whereas the Clergy in their Answer, pretend all their Canons grounded on the Word of God, I would fain be informed where they finde in the New-Testament (which ought to regulate their proceedings) that the power of the Church extendeth to life, limb, or estate. Sure I am her censures appear spiritual on the soul, by those expressions, *Binde\* on Earth, Cast\* out, Deliver\* to Satan, &c.*

\* Mat. 16. 19

\* 1 John 9. 34.

\* 1 Cor. 5. 5.

But because the Reader reserveth a larger prosecution of this point for another time, we will also respite our larger answer thereunto.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds, Fol. 24. *Indeed St. Davids had been Christian some hundred of years, whilest Canerbury was yet Pagan.* Not many hundred years I am sure of that, nor yet so many as to make a plural number by the Latin Grammer; Kent being conquered by the Saxons, who brought in Paganism, Anno 455. Converted unto Christianity by the preaching of Austin, Anno 569. Not much more than 140. years betwixt the one and the other.

Fuller



Fuller.

The Christian Antiquity of St. David hath a double Date, one native or inherent, the other adopted and Repulative.

The Inherent from the time that St. David fixed there, on which account I believe it was no more than 140. years senior to *Canterbury*.

The Repulative from the first founding of a Bishoprick at *Carleon* by King *Llewellyn*, which (indifferently stated) was about the year of our Lord 169. which was four hundred years before *Canterbury*.

Now it is notoriously known, that the antiquity of *Carleon* (whence the See was removed) in computation of the seniority is adjected to St. David's (her adopted Daughter.)

Hence was it that the Abbot of *Bancar* in his \* Answer unto *Austin*, acknowledged himself and his Convent under the Government of the Bishop of *Carleon* upon *Uske*, (though then no Bishop therein) meaning St. David's thereby, as Dr. \* Hammond and others doe unanimously allow.

Thus grafting St. David's (as it ought) on the Stock of *Carleon*, it is senior in Christianity to *Canterbury* four hundred years, and FOUR, may be termed Same, in the strickest propriety of Language.

\* (A Record lately so priced by the Animadu.)  
In his account H. S. his Appendix.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds, Fol. 29. To whose honour he (viz. King Stephen) erected St. Stephens Chappel in Westminster, neer the place where lately the Court of Requests was kept. Our Author is here mealy mouth'd, and will not parler le tout, as the Frenchmen say. For otherwise he might have told us that this Chappel is still standing, and since the surrendry of it to King Edward the sixth, hath been used for a Parliament House, employed to that purpose by the Commons, as it still continueth. What might induce our Author to be thus reserved, I can hardly tell; unless it be to prevent such inferences and observations, which by some wanton wits might be made upon it.

Stowe Survey, p. 893.

Fuller.

I hope rather some gracious hearts will make pious improvement thereupon, praying to God, that seeing so many signal persons are now assembled therein, the very place once dedicated as a Chappel to St. Stephen, may be their more effectual Remembrancer, to imitate the purity and piety of that renowned Saint: That so God may be invited graciously to be present amongst them, to over-rule all their consultations to his Glory, the Good of the Church and State, and the true honour of the Nation: And to this let every good man say, Amen.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds, Fol. 40. By the same title from his Father Jeffery Plantagenet, he possessed fair lands in Anjou and Maine. I had thought he had possessed somewhat more in Anjou and Maine, than some fair Lands onely, his Father Jeffery Plantagenet being the Proprietary Earl of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, not a titular onely, succeeded in the same by this King Henry and his two sons, Richard and John, till lost unhappily by the last, with the rest of our Estates on that side of the Sea. From this Jeffery descended fourteen Kings of the name of Plantagenet, the name not yet extinguished, though it be impoverished: Our Author speaking of one of them, who was found not long since at the Plow, Lib. 2. p. 170. Another of that name publishing a Book about the Plantation of New-*Albion*, Anno 1646. or not long before.

Hh

Fuller

Fuller.

The frequent and familiar figure of *MOISIS* will rectify all, whereby *Jesse* is said than meant, and therefore more must be understood than is said. Besides, it made me mince my expression, (being loath to exceed) because this *Jeffery* did not to me appear (though the *Barl.*) to intire in those Dominions, but that the Kings of France and England had Cities and Castles interpoled therein.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 53. King John sent a base, degenerate, and unchristian Embassy to Admirallus Mummelius a Mahometan King of Morocco, then very puissant, and possessing a great part of Spain. This Admirallus Mummelius, as our Author and the old Monks call him, was by his own name called Mahomet Enaser, the Miramemoline of Morocco, to whom if King John sent any such Message, it was as base, unchristian, and degenerate as our Author makes it.

Fuller.

I will ingenuously confesse, that the first time I found this Story, was in the Doctors Microcosm (the novelty making me take the more notice thereof.) Though since I have met with it in *M. Paris* (the fountain) and other Authors, the channels thereof, I conceive it was as lawfull for me to relate it, as for the Animadvector, who epithets this Embassy *BASE\*, DEGENERATE, and UNCHRISTIAN*, the words which in me he reproveth.

His description of *Barl.*

Dr. Heylin.

But being the credit of the Tale depends upon the credit of the Monkish Authors, to which brood of men that King was known to be a professed Enemy (hating and hated by one another) it is not to be esteemed so highly as a piece of *Apo-crypha*, and much lesse to be held for Gospel.

Fuller.

Here he rather speaks *aliter* than *alia*, from what I had written on the same Subject, who thus concluded the Character of King John.

Church-Hist. Book 3. pag. 54.

We onely behold him Hamshorough such a Light as the Friars his foes shew him in; who so hold the candle, that with the Shadow thereof they darken his virtues; and present onely his Vices; yea, and as if they had also poisoned his memory, they cause his faults to swell to a prodigious greatness, making him with their pens more black in conditions, than the Morocco King (whose aid he requested) could be in complexion.

\* Vide supra, part. I. chap. 11

Here I desire to give the Reader a taste of what doth frequently occur in this Book, and of what I justly did complain, viz. the Animadvector\* sometimes not liking my language, (as not proper and expressive enough) substitutes his own, with little or no variation of matter.

I confesse he is not bound to use my words, and such variations simply in it self, is no wrong unto me; but it becometh an Injury when they must passe for necessary Animadversions on my Book, to the defaming thereof, as if it were defective without them, which were there (though perchance not so finely) as fully and clearly before.

Dr. Heylin.

Possible it is, that being overlaid by his own Subjects, and distressed by the French, he might send unto that King for aid in his great extremities. And doing this (if this were all) he did no more than Nature, and indignation, and the necessity of his affairs did provoke him to; not half so much as was done afterwards upon far weaker grounds by King Francis the first, employing the Turks Forces both

by



by Sea and Land against Charles the fifth. But the *Monks* coming to the knowledge of this secret practise, and construing his actions to the worst, improv'd the *Molehill* to a *Mountain*, rendring him thereby as odious to posterity, as he was to themselves.

Fuller.

How much is this different from what I have written before, but that the *Animadverſor* will not wear words at the second hand of my using, but will have them *pick and ſpan* new of his own making.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 63. *I question whether the Bishop of Rochester (whose Country house at Bromley is ſo nigh) had ever a House in the City.* There is no question but he had, *Stow* finding it in *Southmark* by the name of *Rochester house*, adjoining on the South ſide to the Bishop of *Wincheſters*, ruinous and out of reparation in his time (as poſſibly not much frequented ſince the building of *Bromley House*), and ſince converted into *Tenements* for private perſons.

Fuller.

It was a *Question* to me, though none to the *Animadverſor*; now it is a *question* neither to him nor to me, who by him am informed. I ſee that men may learn by what boyes learn in their *Qui mihi*,

*Sed quæ nil dubitat, nil capit inde boni.*

Had I not *questioned* this once publickly, probably I had *questioned* it ever privately, and gone in my ſelf without ſatisfaction.

Dr. Heylin.

But ſince our Author hath deſired others to recover the reſt from oblivion, I ſhall help him to the knowledge of two more, and ſhall thank any man to finde out the third. The firſt of theſe two is the *Bishop of Lincolns Houſe*, ſituate neer the old Temple in *Holborn*, firſt built by *Robert de Cheſney*, *Bishop of Lincoln*, Anno 1147. ſince alien'd from that See to the Earls of *Southampton*, and paſſing by the name of *Southampton Houſe*. The ſecond is the *Bishop of Bangors*, a fair Houſe ſituate in *Shoe-lane* neer *St. Andrews Church*, of late time leaſed out by the *Bishops*, and not ſince, the dwelling of *Dr. Smith Doctor in Phyſick*, a right honeſt and ingenuous perſon, and my very good friend. Of all the old *Bishops* which were founded before *King Harry the eighth*, there is none whole Houſe we have not found, but the *Bishop of Aſaph*; to the finding whereof, if our Author, or any other will hold forth the Candle, I ſhall follow the light the beſt I can, and be thankfull for it.

Fuller.

I faithfully promiſe ſo to doe, as ſoon as I arrive at any good intelligence thereof.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 67. *And though ſome high Royaliſts look on it as the product of Subjects animoſities improving themſelves on their Princes extremities, &c.]* Our Author telleth us in his *Epistle to the Reader*, that the three firſt Books of this Volume were for the main written in the reign of the late King, and that it would appear ſo by ſome paſſages which were then proper for the Government. But certainly if theſe words were written in the time of the late King, they were written in the time of his diſtreſſe, when his affairs were deſperate, and his Party ruin'd; the name of *Royalists* had not elſe been uſed here in the way of reproach, nor any new matter charg'd upon them, which might render them more obnoxious to fine and ranſome than the crime of Loyalty.

Fuller.

Fuller.

My Loyaltie did rise and fall with his Majesties successe, as a Rock in the Sea doth with the ebbing and flowing of the Tyde. I had more pissy but not lesse honour for him in his deepest distresse.

God knows my heart, I use not the word *High-Royalist* here as by way of reproach, and the impartial Reader neither will nor can so understand it.

Some there are who maintain, that a King is no way confined with his own Laws, but that without any fault, he may by his own list limit his Demandson his Subjects, taking from them, without any wrong, what they refuse to pay unto him. There the *Animadversor* will call *Royalists*, and I dare call them *High-Royalists*, beholding (as I have said) the *Grand-Charter*, as the product of Subjects animosities improving themselves on their Princes extremities.

Dr. Heylin.

But whatsoever our Author thinks, it cannot but appear to any who consults the story of former times, that the original of this Charter, was first writ in blood, obtain'd by working on the necessities of some Princes, extorted in the minority of another, and finally confirm'd by him who had not power to justifie his denial of it.

Fuller.

I could heartily have wished, that the *Animadversor* had expressed the names of these Kings. Who now onely hope that I conjecture them aright.

1. King John, on the working of whose necessities it was first obtained.
2. Henry the third, whose consent thereto was extorted in his minority.
3. Edward the first, confirming it when not in power to justifie his denial, during his durance as a Prisoner taken in Battail.

Here I confesse, are three sad conditions, necessity of the first, minority of the second, captivity of the third. But know, that the last of these when at liberty, and not onely endued with freedome, but impowered with force, and being as wise and succesfull a Prince, as ever sate on the *English Throne*; found it advantageous for his Interest, to observe what formerly when a Prisoner he had confirmed.

Otherwise his Sword was so long, reaching as farre as *Palastine* it self, and so sharp, hewing his conquering way through *Wales* and *Scotland*; that therewith (enforced with his arm) he might have rescinded the *Seals* of the *Grand-Charter*, and put himself into the condition of an absolute command.

But he preferred the strict observation thereof, partly out of Piety, because solemnly sworn thereunto; partly out of Policy, as sensible that therein the Rights of Sovereigns and Subjects, were indifferently contempered to their mutual happinesse, it being Fetters to neither, but Girdles to both to be strengthened by such restraints.

Dr. Heylin.

And if our Author be so certain, that those Kings flourished most both at home and abroad, who tyed themselves most conscientiously to the observation thereof: I would fain know how some of our Kings, who have most conscientiously tied themselves to that observation, became so unprosperous; or how some others came to flourish both at home and abroad, who have made it their great work to infringe the same in almost all the principal Articles and main branches of it.

Fuller.

It is an hard question, and yet perchance more dangerous than difficult to answer, but the reason I dare alledge is this, *Even so Father, because it pleased thee.*

Let me add, that such conscientious observers thereof, which have proved unsuccessfull, may esteem their losses as *Sweet-Bryar* and *Holy-Thistle*, and more cordially



cordially comfort themselves in such sanctified afflictions, than the Infringers of their Charter could content themselves in their successful oppression.

I cannot part from this point, till I have inserted that Sir Robert Cotton, (one who had in him as much of the Gentleman, Antiquarie, Lawyer, good Subject, and good Patriot, as any in England) was the Author, [in his short view of the long reign of King Henry the third] who made the observation of those most successful Kings, by whom the Grand-Charter was most conscientiously observed.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds, Fol. 88. *The poor Jews durst not goe into France (whence lately they had been solemnly banished) but generally disposed themselves in Germany and Italy.* The poor Jews are more beholding to our Author for his commiseration than the high Royalists, (as he calls them) in the former passage. But poor or rich, they might have passed safely into France, had they been so minded. For though he tell us, that they had been solemnly banished out of France before this time; yet either such banishment was repealed, or temporary only, or (as I rather think) not so much as sentenced. Certain I am, our learned Brerewood upon a diligent enquiry hath found it otherwise than our Author doth; letting us know, *That the first Countrey in Christendome, whence the Jews were expelled without hope of return, was our Countrey of England, whence they were banished, Anno 1290. by King Edward the first; and not long after out of France, Anno 1307. by Philippus Pulcher.* Not out of France first, out of England afterwards, as our Author would have it.

Brerewoods  
Enq. cap. 12.

Fuller.

I wonder any good Christians would be offended with me, for pitying them by the name of poor Jews. If any High royalist, (as I fear there is too many) be in low Estate, would it were as well in my power to relieve as to pity them. Till when they shall have my prayers, that God would give them patience, and support them in their deepest distresse.

The Author will find, that though the Great, General, and Final banishment of the Jews out of France, was Anno 1307. under Philip the Fair, yet formerly there had been Edicts for their Exile thence.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds, Fol. 100. *Thus men of yesterday have pride too much to remember what they were the day before.* An observation true enough, but not well applyed. The two Spencers whom he speaks this off, were not men of yesterday, or raised out of the dirt or dunghill to so great an height; but of as old and known Nobility, as the best in England: insomuch that when a question grew in Parliament, whether the Baronesse de Spencer, or the Lord of Aburgavenny were to have precedency, it was adjudg'd unto de Spencer, thereby declar'd the ancientest Barony of the Kingdome at that time then being. These two Spencers, Hugh the Father was created Earl of Winchester for term of life; and Hugh the Son by marrying one of the Daughters and co-heirs of Gilbert de Clare, became Earl of Gloucester. Men more to be commended for their Loyalty, than accused for their pride, but that the King was now declining, and therefore it was held fit by the prevalent faction to take his two supporters from him, as they after did.

camden in  
Monmouthsh.

Fuller.

The two Spencers fall under a double consideration, and are beheld in History for their extraction, either,

as } Absolutely in themselves.  
      } Comparatively with others.

Absolutely they were of honourable parentage, and I believe the Elder might be born a Baron, whose Baronry (by the Heir general is still extant in Mildmay

*Fane*, Earl of *Westmorland*, and from the younger House of a Male Heir, the Lord *Spencer* of *Wormelayton* (now Earl of *Sunderland*) doth, as I have seen in his *Pedigree*, derive himself.

Comparatively, So were they far inferiour to most of those great persons over whom they insulted, being originally Earls, and some of them of Royall extraction.

Again, the *Two Spencers* may and ought by an Historian to be considered,

as to be  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1. \text{ Commended for their Loyalty,} \\ 2. \text{ Condemned for their Insolency.} \end{array} \right.$

On the first account, they deserve just praise; and it is probable enough, that they finde the lesse Favour from some Pens, for being so Faithfull to so unfortunate a Sovereigne.

The latter cannot be excused, appearing too plain in all our Histories.

#### Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 113. *The Lord Chancellor was ever a Bishop.* If our Author by this word *ever* understands *ἐν τῷ πλεον, most commonly, or for the most part*, he is right enough; but then it will not stand with the following words *viz. as if it had been against equity to imploy any other therein.* And on the other side, if he take the word *ever* in its proper and more natural sense, as if none but Bishops had ever been advanced unto that office, he doth not onely misinform the Reader, but confute himself, he having told us *fol. 31.* of this present book, that *Thomas Becket* being then but *Archdeacon* of *Canterbury*, was made *Lord Chancellor*, and that as soon as he was made *Archbishop*, he resign'd that office. But the truth is, that not onely men in holy Orders, but many of the Laity also had attained that dignity, as will appear to any who will take the pains to consult the Catalogue of the Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal, in the Glossary of *Sir Henry Spelman*: in which appear not onely some of inferiour dignity, as *Deans*, *Archdeacons*, *House-hold Chaplains*; but many also not dignified with any Ecclesiastical Title, or Notification, and therefore in all probability to be looked on as meer Lay-men, Counsellors, and Servants to the Kings in whose times they lived, or otherwise studied in the Laws, and of good affections, and consequently capable of the place of such trust and power.

#### Fuller.

May the Reader take notice, that this complaint was made by the Commons in the 11<sup>th</sup> of *Edward* the 3<sup>d</sup> Anno 1336. Now *Ever* I here restrain to the oldest man alive, then present in Parliament, who could not distinctly remember the contrary, from the first of King *Edward* the first, who began his Reign 1272. so that for full 64. years, an uninterrupted series of Bishops (except possibly one put in *pro tempore*, for a month or two) possessed the place of Chancellors.

This complaint of the Commons occasioned that the King some three years after. *viz.* in the fifteenth year of his reign, conferred the Chancellors place on a Layman. But it was not long before things returned to the old channel of Clergy-men, and so generally for many years continued, with some few and short interpositions of Lay-men.

#### Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 116. *This year, viz. 1350. as Authors generally agree, King Edward instituted the Order of the Garter.* Right enough as unto the time, but much mistaken in some things which relate unto that ancient and most noble Order; our Author taking up his Commodities at the second hand, neither consulting the Records, nor dealing in this business with men of credit.

#### Fuller.

I am now come under the Roof of the *Animadvertor*, who (by the Laws of Hospitality) is bound to treat me the more courteously; I mean, I am entred into a Subject



a Subject, wherein he is well seen, and therefore might favourably connive at my small slips, being therein best studied.

It is severely said, that in this businesse I dealt with no men of credit. The highest person (next the Son of the King) wearing a blew Ribbon was pleased so far to favour me, as that from his own mouth I wrote the last sheet of my History, his Grace endeavouring to be very exact in all particulars.

Dr. Heylin.

For first there are not fourteen Canons resident in the Church of Windsor, but thirteen onely with the Dean; it being King Edwards purpose when he founded that Order, consisting of twenty six Knights, himself being one, to institute as many greater and lesser Canons, and as many old Soldiers (commonly called poor Knights) to be pensioned there: Though in this last, the number was not made up to his first intention.

Fuller.

The mistake (such an one as it is) shall be amended in my next Edition.

Dr. Heylin.

He tells us secondly, that if he be not mistaken (as indeed he is) Sir Thomas Row was the last Chancellor of the Order. Whereas Sir James Palmer one of the Gentlemen Huishers of the Privy Chamber succeeded him in the place of Chancellor after his decease, Anno 1644.

Fuller.

The Animadvertor is very discourteous to deny me the benefit of the Parenthesis, if I be not mistaken. The best Authors have their *Ni fallor*, *Si quid video*, *Si bene intelligo*, and the like: These are Grains allowed to all Pieces currant in payment.

Sir Thomas Roe was the last Chancellor who effectually officiated in his place. Windsor before the year 1644 being a chief Garrison of the Parliament.

Tully calls a Consul, chosen in the morning and put out before night, a *Vigilans Consul*, who never slept in all his Consulship. But (on another occasion) one may say of Sir James Palmer (otherwise a worthy Gentleman, well deserving that and a better place) that He was a very watchfull Chancellor, who never slept in Windsor whilst invested in his Office.

Dr. Heylin.

He tells us thirdly, That there belongs unto it one Register, being alwaies the Dean of Windsor: which is nothing so. For though the Deans of late times have been Registers also, yet *ab initio non fuit sic*, it was not so from the beginning; The first Dean was also Register, being John Boxal, Anno 1557. Before which time, beginning at the year 1414 there had been nine Registers which were not Deans; but how many more before that time, I am not able to say, their names not being on Record.

Fuller.

I say not that the Register alwaies Was the Dean, but being alwaies the Dean; which relating to our and our fathers memories, is right enough: but it shall be reformed.

Dr. Heylin.

And fourthly he tells us, That the Garter is one of the extraordinary Habiliments of the Knights of this Order, their ordinary being onely the blew Ribbon about their necks, with the Picture of St. George appendant, and the Sun in his glory on the left shoulder of their Cloak; whereas indeed the Garter is of common wearing, and of such necessary use, that the Knights are not to be seen abroad without it, upon pain

of

Hist. of St.  
George lib. 3.  
cap. 3. 8.

of paying two Crowns to any Officer of the Order, who shall first claim it, unless they be to take a journey; in which case it is sufficient to wear a blew Ribbon under their Boots to denote the Garter. Lastly, whereas our Author tells us, that the Knights hereof doe weare on the left shoulder of their Cloaks a Sun in his glory, and attributes this wearing, as some say, to King Charles. I will first put him out of doubt, that this addition was King Charles his; then shew him his mistake in the matter it self. And first, in the first year of that King, Apr. 26. 1626. it was thus enacted at a publick Chapter of the Order, viz. "That all Knights and Companions of the Order, shall wear upon the left part of their Cloaks, Coats, and riding Cassocks at all times when they shall not wear their Roabs, and in all places of Assembly, an Escoccheon of the Armes of St. George, idest, a Crosse within a Garter, nor enriched with Pearls or Stones: in token of the honour which they hold from the said most noble Order, instituted and ordained for persons of the highest worth and honour. Our Author, secondly, may perceive by this Act of the Kings, that St. Georges Crosse within the Garter, is the main device enjoined to be worn by all the Knights of that noble Order; to which the adding of the Sun in his glory served but for ornament and imbellishing, and might be either used or not used (but onely for conformities sake) as they would themselves.

Fuller.

This Sun in Glory affords me small light, so that I can see but very little (if any thing at all) which I have to alker.

Dr. Heylin.

So many Errors in so few lines one shall hardly meet with.

Fuller.

Yea, with more in fewer lines, even in the Animadversor himself, in laying down the Root and Branches of the noble family of the Montagues: Mistakes the more remarkable, because done in correction of Mr. Sanderson, and making more faults than He mendeth; Or rather all is but one mistake, resulting from a continued complication of omissions, confusions, and transpositions.

Advertisements on the History of the Reign of King James, pag. 21, 22.

Fol. 490. Sir Edward Montague had three sonnes, Edward the eldest Knight of the Bath, &c.] The Author here is much mistaken in the House of the Montagues. For first, that Edward Montague who was Knight of the Bath, &c. was not Brother to James Bishop of Winchester, and Henry Earl of Manchester, but their Brothers Son, that is to say, the Son of another Edward their eldest Brother.

Secondly, besides that, Edward, James, and Henry, there was another Brother whom the Author names not, though he could not chuse but know the man, viz. Sir Sidney Montague, one of the Masters of the Requests to the late King Charles. Therefore to set this matter right, I am to let both him and his Readers know, that Sir Edward Montague chief Justice in the time of King Edward the sixth, was father of another Edward who lived peaceably and nobly in his own Country. To whom succeeded a third Edward, who fought for honour in the Wars, and gained the reputation of a good Commander, the elder Brother of James, Henry, and Sidney before mentioned, and the father of a fourth Edward who was made Knight of the Bath, at the Coronation of King James, Anno 1603. and afterwards created Lord Montague of Boughton in the nineteenth year of that King, Anno 1621. which honourable Title is now enjoyed by his Son (another Edward) Anno 1658.

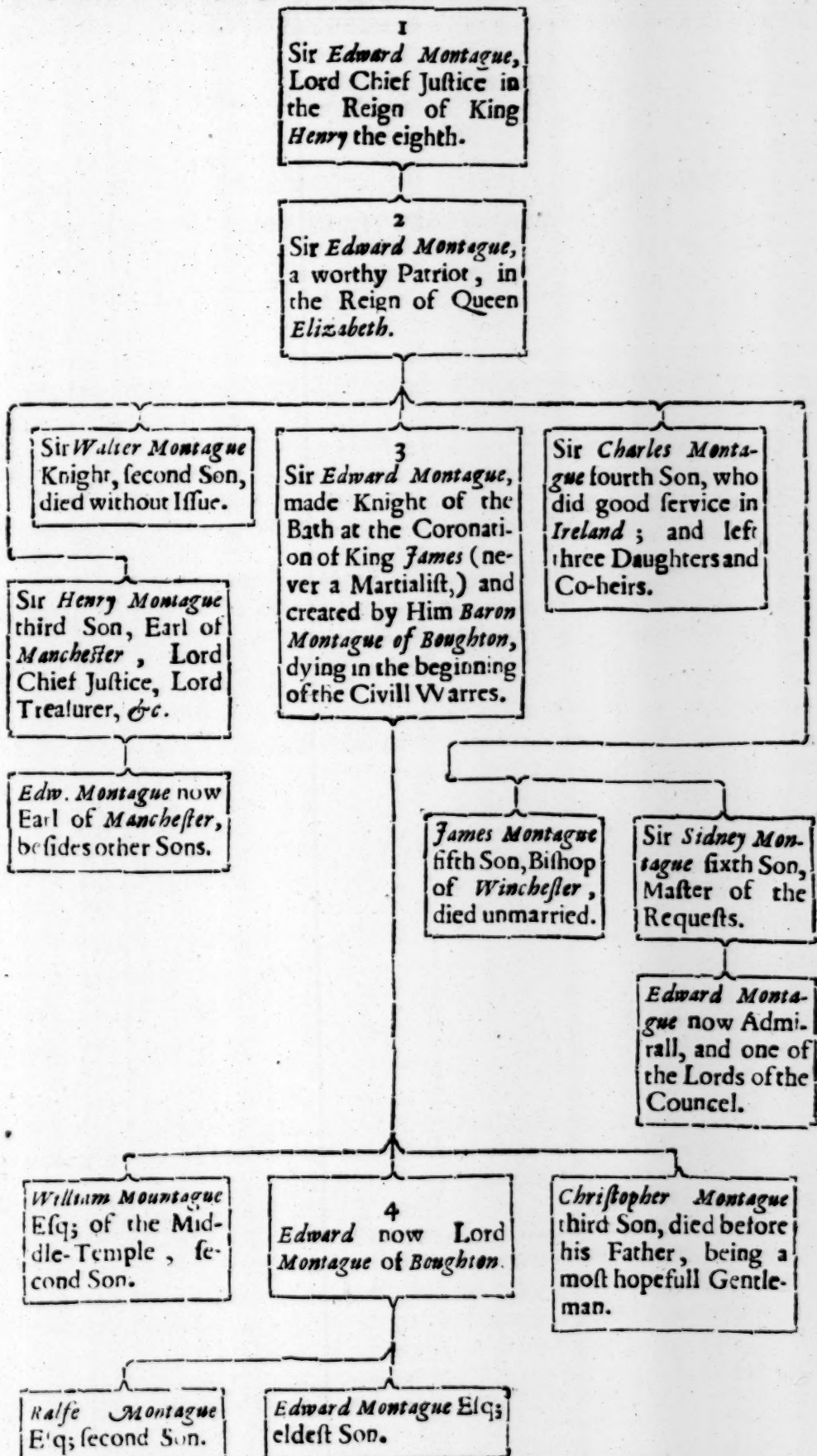
And thirdly, though I grant that Dr. James Montague Bishop of Winchester (the second Brother of the four) was of great power and favour in the time of King James.

1. Sir



Thus far Dr. *Heylin*, out of his Advertisements, written in correction of Mr. *Sandersons* History of the Reign of King *James*.

To rectifie this heap of Errors, not to be paralleled in any Author (pretending to the emendation of another) I have here plainly set down the Male-pedegree of this Noble, Numerous, and successfull Family.



I presume the Animadvector will allow me exact in this Family, which hath reflected so fauourably upon me, that I *desire* (and indeed *deserve*) to live no longer, than whilst I *acknowledg* the same.

The first of these is the Abbey of St. Augustine, which was founded by the same King, and was the first of the Benedictine Monasteries in England. It was situated in the town of Canterbury, and was the seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The second is the Abbey of St. Martin, which was founded by the same King, and was the first of the Benedictine Monasteries in Kent. It was situated in the town of Canterbury, and was the seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The third is the Abbey of St. Peter, which was founded by the same King, and was the first of the Benedictine Monasteries in Kent. It was situated in the town of Canterbury, and was the seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

1. The Abbey of St. Augustine, which was founded by the same King, and was the first of the Benedictine Monasteries in England. It was situated in the town of Canterbury, and was the seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

2. The Abbey of St. Martin, which was founded by the same King, and was the first of the Benedictine Monasteries in Kent. It was situated in the town of Canterbury, and was the seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

3. The Abbey of St. Peter, which was founded by the same King, and was the first of the Benedictine Monasteries in Kent. It was situated in the town of Canterbury, and was the seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The fourth is the Abbey of St. John, which was founded by the same King, and was the first of the Benedictine Monasteries in Kent. It was situated in the town of Canterbury, and was the seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The fifth is the Abbey of St. James, which was founded by the same King, and was the first of the Benedictine Monasteries in Kent. It was situated in the town of Canterbury, and was the seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The sixth is the Abbey of St. Michael, which was founded by the same King, and was the first of the Benedictine Monasteries in Kent. It was situated in the town of Canterbury, and was the seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

4. The Abbey of St. John, which was founded by the same King, and was the first of the Benedictine Monasteries in Kent. It was situated in the town of Canterbury, and was the seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

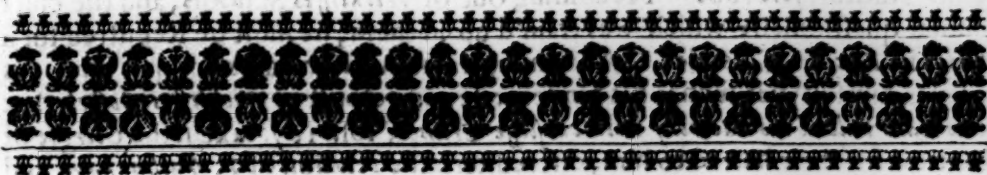
5. The Abbey of St. James, which was founded by the same King, and was the first of the Benedictine Monasteries in Kent. It was situated in the town of Canterbury, and was the seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

6. The Abbey of St. Michael, which was founded by the same King, and was the first of the Benedictine Monasteries in Kent. It was situated in the town of Canterbury, and was the seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

7. The Abbey of St. Nicholas, which was founded by the same King, and was the first of the Benedictine Monasteries in Kent. It was situated in the town of Canterbury, and was the seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

8. The Abbey of St. Andrew, which was founded by the same King, and was the first of the Benedictine Monasteries in Kent. It was situated in the town of Canterbury, and was the seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury.





## THE FOURTH BOOK.

*From the first preaching of Wickliffe, to the beginning of the Reign of King Henry the eighth.*

Dr. Heylin.

**O**UR Author begins this Book with the Story of *Wickliffe*, and continueth it in relating the successes of him and his followers, to which he seems so much addicted, as to Christen their Opinions by the name of the Gospel : For, speaking of such encouragements and helps as were given to *Wickliffe* by the Duke of Lancaster, with other advantages, which the conditions of those times did afford unto him, he addeth, That,

Fol. 129. *We must attribute the main to Divine Providence blessing the Gospel.* A name too high to be bestowed upon the Fancies of a private man, many of whose Opinions were so far from truth, so contrary to peace and civil Order, so inconsistent with the Government of the Church of *Christ*, as make them utterly unworthy to be look'd on as a part of the Gospel. Or if the Doctrines of *Wickliffe* must be call'd the Gospel, what shall become of the Religion then establish'd in the Realm of *England*, and in most other parts of the *Western World*? Were all but *Wickliffes* Followers relaps'd to *Heathenism*; were they turn'd Jews, or had imbrac'd the Law of *Mahomet*? If none of these, and that they still continued in the faith of *Christ*, deliver'd to them in the Gospels of the four *Evangelists* and other Apostolicall Writers, *Wickliffes* new Doctrines could not challenge the name of Gospel, nor ought it to be given to him by the Pen of any. But such is the humor of some men, as to call every separation from the Church of *Rome*, by the name of Gospel, the greater the separation is, the more pure the Gospel. No name but that of *Evangelist* would content the  *Germans*  when they first separated from that Church, and reformed their own : And *Harry Nichols*, when he separated from the *German Churches*, and became the Father of *Familists*, bestows the name of *Evangelium Regni* on his Dreams and Dotages. Gospels of this kinde we have had, and may have too many, *quot Capita tot Fides*, as many Gospels, in a manner, as *Sects* and *Sectaries*, if this world goe on.

Now as *Wickliffes* Doctrines are advanc'd to the name of Gospel, so his Followers whatsoever they were) must be called *Gods servants*, the Bishops being said fol. 151. to be busie in persecuting Gods servants; and for what crime soever, they were brought to punishment, it must be thought they suffered onely for the Gospel and the service of God. A pregnant evidence whereof we have in the story of Sir *John Oldcastle*, accus'd in the time of King *Harry* the fifth for a design to kill the King and his Brethren, actually in Arms against that King in the head of 20000 men, attainted for the same in open Parliament, and condemn'd to die, and executed in *St. Giles* his Fields accordingly, as both Sir *Roger Aston* his principal Counsellor, and 37 of his Accomplices had been before. For this we have not onely the Authority of our common Chronicles, *Walsingham*, *Stow*, and many others;

others; but the Records of the Tower, and Acts of Parliament, as is confessed by our Author, fol. 168. Yet coming out of *Wickliffes* Schools, and the chief Scholar questionlesse which was train'd up in them, he must be Registered for a *Martyr* in *Fox* his Calender. And though our Author dares not quit him, (as he sayes himself) yet such is his tendernes and respect to *Wickliffes* Gospel, that he is loath to load his Memory with causlesse Crimes, fol. 167. taxeth the Clergie of that time for their hatred to him, discrediteth the relation of *T. Walsingham*, and all later Authors, who are affirm'd to follow him, as the Flock their Belweather; and finally leaves it as a special verdict in the last day of the Revelation of the righteous Judgements of God.

Fuller.

First, I fain would know, whether the *Animadversor* would be contented with the Condition of the Church of England, as *Wickliffe* found it, for Opinions and Practice, and doth not earnestly desire a Reformation thereof.

I am charitably confident, that He doth desire such an Emendation, and therefore being both of us agreed in this Point of the convenience, yea necessity thereof; in the second place I would as fain be satisfied from the *Animadversor*, whether He conceived it possible, that such Reformation could be advanced (without Miracle) all on a sodain, so that many grosse Errors would not continue, and some new one be superadded.

The man in the Gospel first saw men walking as trees, before he saw perfectly. Nature hath appointed the Twilight as a Bridge to passe us out of Night into Day. Such false and wild opinions (like the \* Scales, which fell down from the Eyes of St. Paul, when perfectly restored to his sight) have either vanished or been banished, out of all Protestant Confession.

Far be it from me to account the rest of England relapsed into *Atheism*, or lapsed in *Judaism*, *Turcism*, &c. whom I behold as *Erronious Christians* in Doctrine and Practice, and yet still in such a condition, that though so living and dying, if they lead a good life, and being weak, ignorant, and seduced, seriously repented of all their sins of ignorance, they might be saved, closing tully with the moderate Judgement of learned *Hooker* herein.

I know that the very worst of *Hereticks*, have assumed to themselves the very best of Names, gilding themselves over with the Title of *Gospellers*, and the like; but because *Thieves* often pretend themselves honest men, may not honest men avow themselves to be so, and also be so termed by others?

The words of the *Animadversor* of *Wickliffes* Gospel, might well have been spared, seeing indeed it was *Christs* Gospel (dawning is part of day) preached by *Wickliffe*, in a purer manner than in that Age, (thanks to God it was then so good; impurer than in our Age, thanks be to God it now is bitter.

As for Sir *John Oldcastle* L. Cobham, his Case is so perplexed with contrary relations much may be said against him, and little lesse in his behalf; and I have cause to believe indeed, that his Innocence wanted not cleannesse but clearing.

Whereas the *Animadversor* takes exception at my referring the Decision hereof to the revelation of the righteous judgement of God, it must be

Either because { 1. That Time will come too soon }  
2. Or else come too late } to decide the Controversie.  
3. Or else be insufficient }

And having no just cause to suspect any of these, it had been better if my (or rather St. \* Pauls words) had passed without his reprehension.

Dr. Heylin.

From the Scholar passe we to the Master, of whom it is reported in a late *Papist* Pamphlet, that he made a recantation of his Errors, and liv'd and dyed conformable to the Church of Rome. This I will behold as a notorious falshood, an imposture



imposture of the *Romish* party, though the argument used by our Author, be not of strength sufficient to inforce me to it. If, saith he, *Wickliffe* was sufficiently reconcil'd to the *Roman* faith, why was not *Rome* sufficiently reconciled to him? Using such cruelty to him many years after his death, fol. 171. But this, say I, is no reason, of no force at all. *Wickliffe* might possibly be reconcil'd to the Church of *Rome*, and yet the Ministers of that Church, to strike a terror into others, might execute that vengeance on him after his decease, which they had neither power nor opportunity to doe when he was alive. *Quam vivo iracundiam debuerant, in corpus mortui contulerunt.* And hercof we have a fair example in *Marcus Antonius de Dominis* Archbishop of *Spalato*, who coming into *England* 1616. did manifestly oppole the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome* in some learned Volumes. But being cunningly wrought on by some Emissaries of the *Romish* party in the year 1622. he went back to *Rome*, was reconcil'd to that Church, and writ there most reproachfully of the Church of *England*; which notwithstanding, he was kept prisoner all the rest of his life, and his body burnt to ashes after his decease. So then it is no such new matter for a dissenting Christian, such as *Wickliffe* and *de Dominis* were, though branded by the name of Hereticks, to be admitted to a reconciliation with the Church of *Rome*, and yet that Church to carry a revengefull minde towards them when occasion serves.

## Fuller.

I answer first, I am not the first who have discovered strong affections, with a weak Judgement, endeavouring to prove a Truth with a non-cogent, and un-concluding Argument, in case my reason should be disproved.

Secondly, *Spalato* is no proper parallel of *Wickliffe*, in this point. *Spalato* contracted a new \*Guilt, by bragging at the Table of a Cardinal in *Rome*, that his Book *de Repub. Eccles.* could be answered by none but himself; and *dum calebat*, whilst the scent hercof was hot, they burnt his Body when but lately dead: Whereas their despights followed *Wickliffe* at a distance more than forty years after his Death, on no pretended new misdemeanor.

Lastly, the Animadverſor cometh up unto me, in allowing *Wickliffe* his Reconciliation to *Rome*, a notorious untruth; and therefore we may proceed to what is more material, wherein we two shall appear two, being, it seems, but one in this difference.

\* Out of exact intelligence sent from his near Kindred, to *Venice*, and thence to Mr. *Calendrine*, now Minister of the Dutch Church.

## Dr. Heylin.

And all this while we have expected that our Author would have given us a brief Summary of *Wickliffe's* Doctrines, that by seeing the Piety and Orthodoxy of his Opinions, we might have thought more reverently both of him and his Followers. But therein our expectation must remain unsatisfied, our Author thinking it more agreeable to his Design to hold the Reader in suspense, and conceal this from him: dealing herein as the old *Germans* did with those of other Nations, who came to wait upon *Falesta* a great Queen amongst them; not suffering any to have a sight of her, to keep them in a greater admiration of her Parts and Person. *Arcebantur aspectu quò plus venerationis inesset*, as it is in *Tacitus*. The wheat of *Wickliffe* was so foul, so full of chaff, and intermingled with so many and such dangerous Tares, that to expose it to the view, were to mar the market. And therefore our Author having formerly honoured his Opinions by the name of Gospel, and his followers with the Title of Gods servants, as before was noted; had reason not to shew them all at once, in a lump together, that we might think them better and more Orthodox than indeed they were. But the best is (to save us the trouble of consulting *Harpſfield*, and others who have written of them) our Author hath given them us at last on another occasion, Lib. 5. fol. 208. many of which the Reader may peruse in these Animadversions, Numb. 113. Thus having laid together so much of this present Book as relates to *Wickliffe* and his followers, I must behold the rest in fragments, as they lye before me.

Hist. lib. 4.

Fuller.

*Wickliffes Doctrines*, so called, fall under a double notion, being either  
such as were  $\left. \begin{array}{l} 1. \text{ Charged on} \\ 2. \text{ Maintained by} \end{array} \right\} \text{ Him.}$

For the former, no *Fault of Omission* can be found in me, having given in (in a full  
\* *church-Hist.* Sheet\*) a Catalogue of them, digested under several Heads, as concerning the  
4. *Book*, p. 131. *Pope, Prelats, Priests, Saints, King, Christ, God, with the Tome, Book, Article, Chapter*, where they are to be found in *T. Waldensis*.

Sure I am, they were not so bad in all particulars as he there representeth them.  
\* In his Intro- If the Animadvertor a Protestant, living with me in the same suffering Age, \*accuse  
duction. me for accounting *Murdering of Kings* for necessary Prudence, as oft as they shall  
fall into the power of their Subjects, which I abhor in my heart, and no such thing  
appears in the place cited; no wonder if *Waldensis* charged on *Wickliffe* abomi-  
nable Errors, which he cordially detested.

As for the *Doctrines* which *Wickliffe* did maintain, we have some, but want an  
exact List of them; and I believe it is past the power of any Author alive to present  
it intire (defecated from the calumniation of his Adversaries;) and therefore im-  
possibilities are not to be expected from me.

Yet am I not such an Admirer of *Wickliffe*, but that I believe he did defend  
some grosse Errors; and it had been no wonder if it were, but had been a miracle  
if it had not been so, considering the frailty of flesh, darknesse of the Age he lived  
in, and difficulty of the Subject he undertook. But because the Animadvertor re-  
ferences to something following in my fifth Book; I will also reserve my self for his  
Encounter in time and place appointed.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 152. *He lies buried in the South Isle of St. Peters Westminster, and since hath got the company of Spencer and Drayton.* ] Not *Draytons* company I am sure, whose body was not buried in the South-Isle of that Church, but under the North wall thereof in the main body of it, not far from a little dore which openeth into one of the Prebends houses. This I can say on certain knowledge, being casually invited to his Funeral, when I thought not of it; though since his *Statue* hath been set up in the other place which our Author speaks of.

Fuller.

I follow the Information in his Epitaph on his Tombe, near the South dore in Westminster Abbey.

*Doe Pious Marble, let the Readers know  
What they, and what their Children owe  
To DRAITONS name, whose sacred Dust  
We recommend unto thy trust.  
Preserve his Memory, and protect his Story,  
Remain a lasting Monument of his Glory.  
And When thy Ruine shall disclaim  
To be the Treasurer of his name,  
His name, which cannot dye, shall be  
An Everlasting Monument to thee.*

Have Stones learnt to Lye, and abuse posterity? Must there needs be a Fiction in the Epitaph of a Poet? If this be a meer Cenotaph, that Marble hath nothing to doe with *Draitons Dust*: but let us proceed.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 153. *The right to the Crown lay not in this Henry,*



ry, but in Edmund Mortimer Earl of March, descended by his Mother Philippa, from Lionel Duke of Clarence, elder son to Edward the third.] I shall not now dispute the Title of the House of Lancaster, though I think it no hard matter to defend it.

Fuller.

I think it is not onely difficult, but impossible, except the Animadvertor can challenge the Priviledge of the Patriarch \* Jacob, to crosse his Hands, and prefer the younger before the Elder Child, in succession. \* Gen. 43.14.

Again, the Title of Lancaster may be considered, either

1. As it was when Henry the fourth first found } it.
2. As it was when Henry the sixth last left }

The latter of these was countenanced with many Laws, corroborated with three descents, and almost threescore years possession.

Know Reader, my words are of the right, where it was when Henry the fourth first seized the Crown, and then he had not a Rag of Right to cover his Usurpation. Instead of justifying whereof, let us admire Gods free Pleasure, in permitting the House of Lancaster to last so long; his Justice, in assisting York afterwards to recover their Right; and his Mercy at last, in uniting them both, for the happiness of our Nation.

Dr. Heylin.

And much lesse shall I venture on the other controversie, viz. whether a King may Legally be depos'd: as is insinuated by our Author in the words foregoing.

Fuller.

If seems the Animadvertor finds little in my Book above ground for his purpose to cavil at, because fain to Mine for my insinuations. But let the Reader judge, whether any man alive can from those my words, the right lay not in this Henry, but in Mortimer Earl of March, infer an INSINUATION, that Kings may legally be deposed. This Insinuation must be in Sinn, in the Bosom of the Animadvertor, which never was in the breast of the Author. More perspicacitie must be in the Organ, than perspicuity in the Object, to perceive such an Insinuation.

Dr. Heylin.

But I dare grapple with him in a point of Heraldry, though I finde him better studied in it, than in matter of History. And certainly our Author is here out, in his own dear Element: Edmund Mortimer Earl of March not being the Son, Camden in Radnor 624. but Husband of the Lady Philippa Daughter of Lionel Duke of Clarence, and Mother of Roger Mortimer Earl of March, whom Richard the second (to despite the house of Lancaster) declared Heir apparent to the Kingdome of England. 'Tis true, this Edmund was the Son of another Philippa, that is to say, of Philip Montacute, wife of a former Roger Earl of March, one of the founders of the Garter. So that in whomsoever the best Title lay, it lay not in this Edmond Mortimer as our Author makes it.

Fuller.

It is a meer casual slip of my Pen, Edmund for Roger, and this is the first time I crave the Benefit of this Plea in my defence.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 154. This is one of the clearest distinguishing Characters betwixt the Temporal and Spiritual Lords; that the former are to be tryed per Pares, by their Peers, being Barons of the Realm.] Nor shall I here dispute the point, whether a Bishop may not challenge to be tryed by his Peers, but whether the Bishops were not Barons and Peers of the Realm. Our Author intimates that they were not, but I think they were.

Fuller.

Fuller.

From a late *Insinuation*, the *Animadverſor* now proceeds to a new *Intimation* of mine, utterly *unextractable* from my words. But know, it never came into my minde to think that Bishops were not *Peers*, who to my power will defend it against any who shall oppose it.

Dr. Heylin.

Selden. Tit.  
Hon. part. 2.  
c. 5.

Stat. 25. Edw.  
Antiquit. Epi-  
tan. in Stratf.

And this I think on the authority of the learned *Selden*, in whom we finde, that at a Parliament at *Northampton* under *Henry* the second the Bishops thus challenge their own Peerage, viz. *Non sedemus hic Episcopi, sed Barones; Nos Barones, vos Barones; Pares hic sumus*: that is to say, *We sit not here as Bishops onely, but as Barons; We are Barons, and you are Barons; here we sit as Peers*. Which last is also verified in *terminis*, by the words of a Statute or Act of Parliament, wherein the Bishops are acknowledged to be *Peers* of the Land. And for further proof hereof, *John Strasford* Archbishop of *Canterbury* (if I remember it aright) being fallen into the displeasure of King *Edward* the third, and denyed entrance into the House of *Peers*, made his *Protest*, that he was *Primus par Regni*, the first *Peer* of the Realm, and therefore not to be excluded from his place and Suffrage.

Fuller.

This indeed is one of the most ancient and pregnant *Evidence* of our Bishops sitting as *Peers* in Parliament. But I suspect it may be mis-improved by the *Back-friends* to Bishops, that they sate there onely in the *Capacity* of *Peers*, and not a *THIRD ESTATE*.

Dr. Heylin.

But of this Argument enough, if not too much, as the case now stands; it being an unhappy thing, to consider what they have been formerly, and what they are at this present.

Fuller.

\* 2 Sam. 15.  
25.

It is a *sad Truth* which the *Animadverſor* sayeth. And here I cannot but remember *David*'s expression, when flying from *Absalom*, *If I shall find favour in the Eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again: But if he say, I have no delight in thee, behold, here I am, &c.* If it be consistent with the good will and pleasure of God, in due time he will *Boy up* again the sunk credit of the Clergy; if not, all must submit to him, whose *ways* are often above *reason*, never against *right*.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 156. *Yea this very Statute which gave power to a Bishop in his Diocess to condemn an Heretick, plainly proveth that the King by consent of Parliament, directed the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Court in Cases of Heresie.* The Bishops and Clergy in their Convocations had anciently the power of declaring *Heresie*, the Bishops singly in their Consistories to proceed against them, by injoyning penance and recantation, or otherwise to subject them to Excommunication. The Statute which our Author speaks of, being 2 H. 4. c. 15. proceedeth further, and ordain'd in favour of the Church, that the Ordinary might not onely convent, but imprison the party suspected of *Heresie*, and that the party so convented and convicted of *Heresie*, and continuing obstinate in the same, should upon a certificate thereof made and delivered to the Secular Judge, be publickly burned before the People. In order whereunto, as in a matter which concern'd the life of a Subject, the King with the advice of his Parliament, might lay down some rules for the regulating the proceedings of the Bishops and other Ordinaries.

Fuller.



Fuller.

There be two distinct things which in this Point must be severally considered,

1. To declare and define, what shall be accounted Heresie.

2. To condemne to Death a declared Heretick.

The Power of the former was in this Age fixed in the Bishops (without any competition) and is so clear none can question it. Yea by the same Power, they might proceed against a declared Heretick (without any leave or licence from King or Parliament,) so far as Church-Censures, Suspensions, Excommunications, &c. could extend.

But as for the latter, to condemn them to Death, herein the Common-Law began; where the Cannon-Law ended, and regulated their proceedings accordingly.

Dr. Heylin.

But certainly it is a sorry piece of Logick to conclude from hence, that generally in all cases of Heresie, the King with advice of his Parliament directed the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Courts. A piece of Logick shall I call it, or a Fallacy rather, a Fallacy *à d'eto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter*, committed commonly, when from a proposition which is true onely in some respect, with reference to time, place, and other circumstances, the Sophister inferreth something, as if simply true, though in it self it be most absolutely false. As for example, The Pope even in matters of spiritual cognisance (for so it followeth in our Author) had no power over the lives of the English Subjects; and therefore had then no power to proceed against them in point of Heresie.

Fuller.

I intended not, nor have I abused the Reader with any fallacious argumentation. It is true *regit nro*, the King and Parliament directed the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Court in cases of Heresie: I mean not to decide which were Heresies, but to order the Power of the Bishop over declared Hereticks, without the direction of the Statute, not to proceed to Limb and Life: And I believe my words will be found transcribed out of Sir Edward Coke his most elaborate Report of the Kings power in Ecclesiastical matters.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 161. Henry the seventh (born in the Bowels of Wales at Pembroke, &c.) some years after plucked down the Partition Wall betwixt them.] Neither so, nor so. For first Pembroke doth not stand in the Bowels of Wales, but almost on the outside of it; as being situate on one of the Creeks of Milford-Haven.

Fuller.

Pembroke (though verging to the Sea) may properly be called in the Bowels of Wales, beholding the Marches [next England] as the outward Skin thereof. Bowels are known to the Latines by the name of *Penetralia*, à *penetrando*; one must pierce and passe so farre from the outward skin, before one can come at them. So is Pembroke placed in the very Penetrals of Wales, seeing the Travailer must goe six-score miles from England, before he can come thither.

Dr. Heylin.

And secondly King Henry the seventh did not break down the Partition Wall between Wales and England. That was a work reserved for King Harry the eighth, in the 27. of whose Reign there past an Act of Parliament, by which it was enacted, "That the Country of Wales should be, stand, and continue for ever, from thenceforth incorporated, united, and annexed to, and with this Realm of England. And that all and singular person and persons born and to be born in the

M m

said

27 H. 8 c. 26. "said Principality, Country, or Dominion of *Wales* shall have, enjoy, and inherit  
 "all and singular Freedoms, Liberties, Rights, Priviledges, and Laws within this  
 "Realm and other the Kings Dominions, as other the Kings Subjects naturally  
 "born within the same, have, and enjoy, and inherit. And thirdly, between the  
 time which our Author speaks of, being the 14 year of King *Henry* the fourth, and  
 the making of this Act by King *Henry* the eighth, there passed above an hundred  
 and twenty years, which intimates a longer time than *some years after*, as our Au-  
 thor words it.

Fuller.

Far be it from me to set variance betwixt *Father* and *Son*, and to make a *Partition Wall* betwixt them, which of them first did break down the *Partition Wall* betwixt *Wales* and *England*. The intentions of King *Henry* the seventh, were executed by King *Henry* the eighth; and all shall be reformed in my Book accordingly.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 168. *I will not complain of the dearness of this University, where seventeen weeks cost me more than seventeen years in Cambridge, even all that I had.* ] The ordinary and unwary Reader might collect from hence, that *Oxford* is a chargeable place, and that all commodities there are exceeding dear, but that our Author lets him know, that it was on some occasion of disturbance.

Fuller.

He must be a very *Ordinary* and *unwary Reader* indeed; or an *Extraordinary one* (if you please) of no common *weakness* or *willfulness* so to understand my words, which plainly expound themselves.

Dr. Heylin.

By which it seems our Author doth relate to the time of the War, when men from all parts did repair to *Oxford*, not as a University, but a place of safety, and the seat Royal of the King; at which time notwithstanding all provisions were so plentiful and at such cheap rates, as no man had reason to complain of the dearness of them. No better argument of the fertility of the soil and richness of the Country in which *Oxford* standeth, than that the Markets were not raised on the accession of such infinite multitudes as resorted to it at that time, and on that occasion. Our Author therefore must be thought to relate unto somewhat else than is here expressed, and possibly may be, that his being at *Oxford* at that time, brought him within the compass of *Delinquency*, and consequently of *Sequestration*.

Fuller.

I commend the carefulness of the *Animadverter*, tender of the honour of *Oxford* and *Oxfordshire* his native Country, as I have heard from his own mouth. But herein his jealousy had not just cause, nothing derogatory thereunto being by me intended herein. *Oxfordshire* hath in it as much of *Rachel* and *Leah*, fairness and fruitfulness, as in any County in *England*, and so God willing in my description of the *English Worthies* I shall make to appear.

Dr. Heylin.

And were it so, he hath no reason to complain of the *University*, or the dearness of it; but rather of himself, for coming to a place so chargeable and destructive to him. He might have tarried where he was (for I never heard that he was sent for) and then this great complaint against the dearness of that *University* would have found no place.

Fuller.

I was once sent up thither from *London*, being one of the Six, who was chosen to carry



carry a *Petition for Peace* to his Majesty, from the *City of Westminster* and the Liberties thereof, though in the way remanded by the Parliament.

As for my being sent for to *Oxford*, the Animadverſor I ſee hath not heard of all that was done. I thought that as St. \* Paul wiſhed all altogether ſuch as he was, \* *Acts 16. 29.* except theſe bands; ſo the Animadverſor would have wiſhed all Engliſhmen like himſelf, ſave in his ſequeſtration, and rather welcomed than jeered ſuch as went to *Oxford*. But let him ſay and doe as he pleaſeth.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 175. Surely what Charles the fifth is ſaid to have ſaid of the *City of Florence*, that it is pity it ſhould be ſeen ſave onely on holy-days, &c.] Our Author is ſomewhat out in this, in fathering that ſaying on Charles the fifth, Emperor and King of Spain, which Boterus and all other Authors aſcribe to Charles Archduke of Austria; that is to ſay, to Charles of Inſpruck, one of the younger Sons of the Emperor Ferdinand the firſt, and conſequently Nephew to Charles the fifth.

Fuller.

*Nihil dictum, quod non dictum prius* : And it is very probable that the one firſt made, the other uſed the ſame expreſſion.

Dr. Heylin.

Nor is our Author very right in taking *Aquensis* for *Aix* in *Provence* : Fol. 178. Eſpecially (ſaith he) if, as I take it, by *Provenſis Aix* be meant, ſited in the farthermoſt parts of *Provence*, though even now the Engliſh power in France was waning.] For firſt, the Engliſh never had any power in *Provence*, no intereſt at all therein, nor pretentions to it; as neither had the French Kings in the times our Author ſpeaks of. *Provence* in thoſe dayes was independent of that Crown, an abſolute Eſtate, and held immediatly of the Empire, as being a part and member of the Realm of *Burgundy*, and in the actual poſſeſſion of the Dukes of *Anjou*; on the expiring of which Houſe, by the laſt Will and Teſtament of Duke Rene the ſecond, it was bequeathed to Lewis the eleventh of France, by him & his Succeſſors to be enjoyed upon the death of Charles Earl of *Maine*, as it was accordingly. And ſecondly, that Bernard, whom the Latine calls *Episcopus Aquensis* is very ill taken by our Author to be Biſhop of *Aix*. He was indeed Biſhop of *Arques* or *Aux* in *Guinne* called anciently *Aqua Augusta* from whence thoſe parts of France had the name of *Aquitain*; and not of *Aix* (which the ancient Writers called *Aqua Sextia*) in the Country of *Provence*. Now *Guinne* was at that time in the power of the Kings of England, which was the reaſon why this Bernard was ſent with the reſt of the Commiſſioners to the Council of *Baſil*; and being there, amongſt the reſt, maintained the rights and preheminences of the Engliſh Kings.

Fuller.

There is nothing more deſtructive to Truth, than when Writers are peremptory in affirming what ſeems doubtfull unto them. Errant Hypocriſie for the Hand to be poſitive in a Point, when the Head is (as I may ſay) but ſuppoſitive, as not ſufficiently ſatiſfied therein. Such men, becauſe they ſcorn to doubt, lead others quite out of the way.

To prevent this miſchief, I onely ſaid, if, as I take it by *Aquensis*, *Aix* be meant; for it ſeemed to me too long a ſtride, (or ſtraddle rather) for the legs of our Engliſh Armies to have any power in *Provence*. And now ſeeing it was but half a fault in me, it doth not deſerve the Animadverſors whole reproof.

Dr. Heylin.

In agitating of which controverſie, as it ſtands in our Author, I finde mention of one *Johannes de Voragine*, a worthleſſe Author, fol. 181. Miſtook both in the name of the man, and his quality alſo. For firſt the Author of the Book called

*Legenda*

Vossig. de Lat.  
Hist.

*Legenda aurea* related to in their former passage, was not *Johannes*, but *Jacobus de Voragine*. In which book, though there are many idle and unwarrantable fictions; yet secondly was the man of more esteem, than to passe under the Character of a *worthlesse Author*, as being learned for the times in which he lived, *Archbishop of Genoa* a chief City of *Italy*, & *moribus & dignitate magno precio*, as *Philippus Bergomensis* telleth us of him, *Anno 1250*. at what time he liv'd; most eminent for his translation of the Bible into the *Italian* tongue (as we read *Vossius*) a work of great both difficulty and danger, as the times then were, sufficient (were there nothing else) to free him from the ignominious name of a *worthlesse Author*.

Fuller.

I here enter my publique thanks to the *Animadvector*, *Jacobus de Voragine* (so it seems was his name) was a better Author than I took him for, indeed having read that *Melchior Canus* called the author of some *Legends*, a man *ferrei oris et plumbei cordis*, one of an *Iron face and leaden heart*, I conceived him intended therein.

But if he did translate the Bible into *Italian*, (as I have cause to believe, knowing nothing to the contrary,) it was, as the *Animadvector* saith well, a work of great both difficulty, and danger, as the times then were.

I confesse I have formerly in the Table of my Esteeme, placed this *Voragine* as the very lag at the lowest end thereof; But hereafter I shall say to him, come up hither, and provide a higher place for him in my *Reputation*.

Dr. Heylin.

A greater mistake than this, as to the person of the man, is that which follows viz. Fol. 185. *Humphry Duke of Gloster son to King Henry the fifth.* [This though I cannot look on as a fault of the Presse, yet I can easily consider it as a slip of the Pen; it being impossible that our Author should be so farre mistaken in *Duke Humphry of Gloster*, who was not son but brother to *King Henry the fifth*.

Fuller.

This being allowed (as indeed it is) but a *Pen-slip*, who is more faulty, the Author in the cursorily committing, or the *Animadvector* in the deliberate censuring thereof?

Dr. Heylin.

But I cannot think so charitably of som other errors of this kind, which I finde in his History of *Cambridge*, fol. 67. Where amongst the *English Dukes* which carried the title of *Earl of Cambridge*, he reckoneth *Edmond of Langley* fift son to *Edward the third*, *Edward* his son, *Richard Duke of York* his brother, father to *King Edward the fourth*. But first this *Richard* whom he speaks of, though he were *Earl of Cambridge* by the consent of *Edward* his elder brother, yet was he never *Duke of York*; *Richard* being executed at *South-hampton* for treason against *King Harry the fifth*, before that Kings going into *France*, and *Edward* his elder brother slain not long after in the Battail of *Agincourt*. And secondly, this *Richard* was not the Father, but Grandfather of *King Edward the fourth*. For being married unto *Anne*, sister and heir unto *Edmond Mortimer Earl of March*, he had by her a sonne called *Richard*, improvidently restored in blood, and advanced unto the Title of *Duke of York*, by *King Henry the sixth*, *Anno 1426*. Who by the Lady *Cecily* his wife, one of the many Daughters of *Ralph Earl of Westmerland*, was father of *King Edward the fourth*, *George Duke of Clarence*, and *King Richard the third*. Thirdly, as *Richard Earl of Cambridge* was not *Duke of York*, so *Richard Duke of York* was not *Earl of Cambridge*; though by our Author made the last Earle thereof (*Hist. of Cam. 162.*) before the restoring of that title on the House of the *Hamiltons*.

Fuller.



Fuller.

This hath formerly been answered at large in the Introduction, wherein it plainly appears, that the last *Richard* was Duke of *York* and Earle of *Cambridge*: though I confesse it is questionable, whether his Father were Duke of *York*.

However it doth my work, viz. That the Earldome of *Cambridge* was alwayes (the first alone excepted) conferred on either a forreign Prince, or an English Peer of the Blood-royall, an Honour not communicated to any other Peere in *England*.

Dr. Heylin.

If our Author be no better at a pedigree in private Families, then he is in those of Kings and Princes; I shall not give him much for his *Art of memory*, for his *History* lesse, and for his *Heraldry* just nothing.

Fuller.

When I intend to expose them to sale, I know where to meet with a franker *Chapman*. None alive ever heard me pretend to the *Art of memory*, who in my booke have decried it as a *Trick, no Art*; and indeed is more of *fancy than memory*. I confesse some ten years since, when I came out of the Pulpit of *St. Dunstons East*; One (who since wrote a booke thereof,) told me in the Vestry, before credible people; That he in *Sydney Colledge*, had taught me the *Art of memory*. I returned unto him, that it was not so; for I could not remember that I had ever seen his face; which he conceive, was a reall Refutation. However, seeing that a *natural memory* is the best flower in mine, and not the worst in the *Animadvertisers garden*, Let us turn our competitions herein, unto mutuall thankfulnesse to the God of heaven.

Dr. Heylin.

But I see our Author is as good at the succession of *Bishops*, as in that of *Princes*. For saith he, speaking of Cardinal *Beaufort*, Fol. 184. *He built the fair Hospital of St. Cross neere Winchester; and although Chancellor of the Univesity of Oxford, was no grand benefactor therewnto, as were his Predecessors Wickham and Wainfleet.* Wickham and Wainfleets are here made the Predecessors of Cardinal *Beaufort* in the See of *Winchester*; whereas in very deed, though he succeeded *Wickham* in that Bishoprick, he preceded *Wainfleet*. For in the Catalogue of the Bishops of *Winchester* they are marshalled thus, viz. 1365. 50. *William of Wickham*, 1405. 51. *Henry Beaufort*, 1447. 52. *William de Wainfleet*, which last continued Bishop till the year 1485, the See being kept by these three Bishops above 120. years, and thereby giving them great Advantages of doing those excellent works, and founding those famous Colleges, which our Author rightly hath ascribed to the first and last. But whereas our Author telleth us also of this Cardinal *Beaufort*, that he built the Hospital of *St. Crosse*, he is as much out in that, as he was in the other; that Hospital being first built by *Henry of Blais*, Brother of King *Stephen* and Bishop of *Winchester*, Anno 1129. augmented onely, and perhaps more liberally endowed by this Potent Cardinal. From these Foundations made and enlarged by these three great Bishops of *Winchester* successively, proceed we to two others raised by King *Henry* the sixth, of which our Author telleth us.

Fuller.

What a peice of *DON QUIXOTISME* is this, for the *Animadvertiser* to fight in confutation of that which was formerly confessed? These words being thus fairly entred in the Table of Errataes.

Book	pag.	line	} read it thus, of his Predecessor Wickham, or Successor Wainfleet.
4.	185.	22.	

N n

Faults

Holy State, the  
the Memory.Cemb. in Ham.  
fol 267.

Faults thus fairly confessed, are presumed fully forgiven; and faults thus fully forgiven, have their guilt returning no more. In the *Court Christian*, such might have been sued, who upbraided their Neighbours for incontinence; after they formerly had performed publique penance for the same. And I hope the Reader will allow me Reparation from the *Animadverſor*, for a fault so cauſleſly taxed, after it was ſo clearly acknowledged, and amended.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 183. *This good precedent of the Archbishops bounty (that is to ſay, the foundation of All-ſouls Colledge by Archbishop Chicheley) may be presumed a ſpur to the ſpeed of the Kings liberality; who ſoon after founded Eaton Colledge, &c. to be a Nurſery to Kings Colledge in Cambridge, fol. 184.] Of Eaton Colledge, and the condition of the ſame, our Author hath ſpoken here at large, but we muſt look for the foundation of Kings Colledge, in the Hiſtory of Cambridge, fol. 77. where I finde ſomething which requireth an *Animadverſion*. Our Author there chargeth Dr. Heylin for avowing ſomething which he cannot juſtify, that is to ſay, for ſaying, “That when William of Wainſfleet Biſhop of Wincheſter (afterwards founder of Magdalen Colledge) perſwaded King Henry the Sixth, to erect ſome Monument for Learning in Oxford, the King returned, *Imo potius Cantabrigia, ut duas (ſi fieri poſſit) in Anglia Academia habeam*. Yea rather (ſaid he) at Cambridge, that (if it be poſſible) I may have two Universities in England. As if Cambridge were not reputed one before the founding of Kings Colledge therein. But here the premiſſes onely are the Doctors, the inference or concluſion is our Authors own. The Doctor interſ not thereupon, that Cambridge was not reputed an University till the founding of Kings Colledge by King Henry the ſixth; and indeed he could not: for he acknowledged before out of Robert de Renington, that it was made an University in the time of King Edward the ſecond. All that the Doctor ſayes, is this, *that as the University of Cambridge was of a later foundation then Oxford was, ſo it was long before it grew into eſteem, that is to ſay, to ſuch a meaſure of eſteem at home or abroad (before the building of Kings Colledge, and the reſt that followed) but that the King might uſe thoſe words in his diſcourſe with the Biſhop of Wincheſter.* And for the Narrative, the Doctor (whom I have talked with in this buſineſſe) doth not ſhame to ſay, that he borrowed it, from that great Treasury of Academical Antiquities Mr. Brian Twine, whoſe learned Works ſtand good againſt all Opponents; and that he found the paſſage juſtified by Sir Iſaack Wake in his *Rex Platonius*. Two Perſons of too great wit and judgement, to relate a matter of this nature on no better ground than common Table-talk, and that too ſpoke in merriment by Sir Henry Savil. Affuredly Sir Henry Savil was too great a Zealot for that University, and too much a friend to Mr. Wake, who was Fellow of the ſame Colledge with him, to have his Table-talk and diſcourſes of merriment to be put upon Record as grounds and arguments for ſuch men to build on in that weighty Controverſie. And therefore when our Author tells us, what he was told by Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Hubbard by Mr. Barlow, Mr. Barlow by Mr. Buſt, and Mr. Buſt by Sir Henry Savil. It brings into my minde the like Pedegree of a true Story, even that of Mother Miſo in Sir Philip Sidney, telling the young Ladies an old Tale, which a good old woman told her, which an old wiſe man told her, which a great learned Clerk told him, and gave it him in writing; and there ſhe had it in her Prayer-book; as here our Author hath found this on the end of his Creed. Not much unlike to which, is that which I finde in the Poet;*

*Quæ Phæbo Pater omnipotens, mihi Phæbus Apollo  
Prædixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.*

That is ſo ſay,

What Jove told Phæbus, Phæbus told to me,  
And I the chief of Furies tell to thee.

Fuller.



Fuller.

The controverſie betwixt us conſiſts about a pretended Speech of King Henry the ſixth, to Biſhop Wainfleet, perſwading him to found a Colledge at Oxford. To whom the King is ſaid to return, *Yea rather at Cambridge, that (if it be poſſible) I may have two Univerſities in England.*

A paſſage pregnant with an Inference, which delivereth it ſelf without any Miſdriſtry to help it, viz. that till the time of King Henry the ſixth, Cambridge was no, or but an obſcure Univerſity, both being equally untrue.

The Animadverſor will have the ſpeech grounded on good Authority, whileſt I more than ſuſpect to have been the frolick of the fancy of S. Iſaack Wake, citing my Author for my beliefe, which becauſe removed four deſcents, is, I confeſſe, of the leſſe validity: Yet is it better to take a Truth from the ſemib, than a Falſhood from the firſt hand.

Both our Relations ultimately terminate in Sir Iſaack Wake, by the Animadverſor confeſſed the firſt printed Reporter thereof. I confeſs S. I. Wake needed none but Sr. Iſaack Wake, to atteſt the truth of ſuch thing, which he had heard or ſeen himſelf. In ſuch Caſe his bare Name commandeth credit with Poſterity. But relating a paſſage done at diſtance, ſome years before his great Grandfather was rockt in his Cradle, we may and muſt doe ſuch rights to our own Judgement, as civilly to require of him ſecurity for what he affirmeth, eſpecially ſeeing it is ſo clog'd with ſuch palpable improbabilitie. Wherefore, till this Knights inviſible Author be brought forth into light, I ſhall remain the more confirmed in my former Opinion, *Rex Platonicus* alone ſounding to me in this point no more than *Plato's Commonwealth*; I mean, a meer Wit work, or Brain-Being, without any other real exiſtence in Nature.

Dr. Heylin.

But to proceed, Fol. 190. *This was that Nevil, who for Extraction, Eſtate, Alliance, Dependents, Wiſdome, Valour, Succeſs, and Popularity, was ſuperiour to any English Subject ſince the Conqueſt.* Our Author ſpeaks this of that Richard Nevil who was firſt Earl of Warwick, in right of Anne his Wife, Siſter & Heir of Henry Beauchamp, the laſt of that Family, and after Earl of Saluſbury by diſcent from his Father; a potent and popular man indeed, but yet not in all or in any of thoſe reſpects to be match'd with Henry of Bullenbrook, ſon to John of Gaunt, whom our Author muſt needs grant to have lived ſince the time of the Conqueſt. Which Henry after the death of his Father was Duke of Lancaſter and Hereford, Earl of Leiceſter, Lincoln, and Darby, &c. and Lord High Steward of England: Poſſeſſed by the donation of King Henry the third, of the County Palatine of Lancaſter, the forfeited Eſtates of Simon de Montfort Earl of Leiceſter, Robert de Ferrars Earl of Darby, and John Lord of Monmouth; By the compact made between Thomas Earl of Lancaſter, and Alice his Wife, of the Honor of Pomfret, the whole Eſtate of the Earl of Lincoln, and a great part of the Eſtates of the Earl of Saluſbury; of the goodly Territories of Ogmores and Kidwelly in Wales, in right of his deſcent from the Chaworths; of the Honor and Caſtle of Hartford by the grant of King Edward the third; and of the Honor of Tickhill in Yorkſhire, by the donation of King Richard the ſecond; and finally of a Moiety of the vaſt Eſtate of Humphry de Bohun Earl of Hereford, Eſſex, and Northampton in right of his Wife. So royal in his Extraction, that he was Grandchilde unto one King, Couſin-german to another, Father and Grand-father to two more. So popular when a private perſon, and that too in the life of his Father, that he was able to raile and head an Army againſt Richard the Second, with which he diſcomfited the Kings Forces, under the command of the Duke of Ireland. So fortunate in his Succeſſes, that he not onely had the better in the Battail mentioned, but came off with Honor and Renown in the War of Africk, and finally obtained the Crown of England. And this I trow, renders him much Superior to our Authors Nevil, whom he exceeded alſo in this particular, that he dyed in his bed, and left his Eſtates unto his Son.

But

But having got the Crown by the murder of his Predecessor, it staid but two descents in his Line, being unfortunately lost by King Henry the sixth: of whom, being taken and imprisoned by those of the *Yorkish* Faction, our Author telleth us.

Fuller.

It never came into my thoughts, to extend the *Parallel* beyond the line of *Subjection*, confining it to such as moved only in that *Sphere*, living and dying in the *Station of a Subject*; and thus far I am sure I am right, that this our *Nevil* was not equal'd, much less exceeded, by any *English-man* since the Conquest.

As for *Henry Duke of Lancaster*, his *Coroner* was afterwards turned into a *Crown*, and I never intended comparison with one who became a *Sovereign*, having learnt, *primum in unoquoque, Genere, est excipiendum*.

The Animadvertor hath here taken occasion to write much, but thereof nothing to confute me, and little to inform others. He deserved to be this *King Henry's Chaplain* (if living in that Age) for his exactness in the distinct enumeration of all his *Dignities* and *Estate*, before he came to the Crown.

Dr Heylin.

Our Author proceeds Fol. 190. *That States-men do admire how blinde the Policy of that Age was, in keeping King Henry alive, there being no such sure Prison as a Grave for a Captive King, whose life (though in restraint) is a fair mark for the full Aim of mal-content to practise his enlargement.* Our Author might have spar'd this Doctrine so frequently in practise amongst the worldly Politicians of all times and ages, that there is more need of a Bridle to holde them in, than a Spur to quicken them. *Parce precor stimulus, & fortius utere loris*, had been a wholesome caveat there, had any friend of his been by to have advis'd him of it. The murdering of depos'd and Captive Princes, though too often practis'd, never found *Advocates* to plead for it, and much less *Preachers* to preach for it, untill these latter times. First made a *Maxim of State* in the School of *Machiavel*, who layes it down for an Aphorisme in point of policy, viz. that great Persons must not at all be touch'd, or if they be, must be made sure from taking Revenge; inculcated afterwards by the *Lord Gray*, who being sent by *King James* to intercede for the life of his Mother, did underhand sollicite her death, and whispered nothing so much in *Queen Elizabeth's* eares, as *Mortua non mordet*, if the *Scots Queen* were once dead, she would never bite. But never prest so home, never so punctually appli'd to the case of Kings, as here I finde it by our Author; of whom it cannot be affirm'd, that he speaks in this case the sense of others, but positively and plainly doth declare his own. No such divinity preach'd in the Schools of *Ignatius*, though fitter for the Pen of a *Mariana*, than of a Divine or Minister of the Church of England. Which whether it passed from him, before or since the last sad accident of this nature, it comes all to one; this being like a two-hand-sword made to strike on both sides, and if it come too late for instruction, will serve abundantly howsoever for the justification. Another note we have within two leaves after as derogatory to the Honour of the late *Archbishop*, as this is dangerous to the Estate of all *Sovereign Princes*, if once they chance to happen into the hands of their Enemies. But of this our Author will give me an occasion to speake more in another place, and then he shall heare further from me.

Ovid Met.  
Lib. 1.

History of Flo-  
rence.

Camdens An-  
nals. AN. 1656.

Fuller.

My words, as by me laid down, are so far from being a two-handed sword they have neither hilt nor blade in them, only they hold out an Handle for me, thereby to defend my self; I say, *States-men* did admire at the preserving King Henry alive, and render their reason, If the Animadvertor takes me for a *Statesman* (whose generall Judgement in this point I did barely relate) he is much mistaken in me.

Reason



*Reason of State* and *Reason of Religion*, are *Stars* of so different an *Horison*, that the elevation of the One, is the *depression* of the other. Not that God hath plac'd *Religion* and *Right Reason* diametrically opposite in *themselves*, (so that where-ever they *meet*, they must *fall out* and *fight*;) but *Reason* bowed by *Politicians* to their present Interest (that is *Achisophelisme*) is *Enmity* to Religion. But the less, we touch this *harsh string* the better musick.

Dr. Heylin.

Now to goe on. Fol. 197. *The Duke requested of King Richard the Earldome of Hereford, and Hereditary Constableness of England.*] Not so, it was not the Earldom, that is to say, the Title of *Earl of Hereford*, which the Duke requested; but so much of the Lands of those Earls, as had been formerly enjoy'd by the House of Lancaster. Concerning which we are to know, that *Humphry de Bohun* the last *Earl of Hereford*, left behinde him two Daughters onely; of which the eldest called *Eleanor* was married to *Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloster*; *Mary*, the other, married unto *Henry of Bullenbrook, Earl of Darby*. Betwixt these two the Estate was parted; the one moiety, which drew after it the Title of *Hereford*, falling to *Henry Earl of Darby*; the other, which drew after it the Office of *Constable*, to the Duke of *Glocester*. But the Duke of *Glocester* being dead, and his estate coming in fine unto his Daughter, who was not able to contend, *Henry the fifth* forced her unto a sub-division, laying one half of her just partage to the other moiety. But the issue of *Henry of Bullenbrook* being quite extinct in the Person of *Edward Prince of Wales Son of Henry the sixth*, these three parts of the Lands of the Earls of *Hereford* having been formerly incorporated into the Duchy of *Lancaster*, remained in possession of the Crown, but were conceiv'd by this Duke to belong to him, as being the direct Heir of *Anne* Daughter of *Thomas Duke of Glocester*, and consequently the direct Heir also of the House of *Hereford*. This was the sum of his demand. Nor doe I finde that he made any suit for the Office of *Constable*, or that he needed so to doe, he being then *Constable of England*, as his Son *Edward* the last Duke of *Buckingham* of that Family, was after him.

Fuller.

The cause of their variance is given in differently by several Authors. Some say, that at once this Duke requested three things of King *Richard, 1. Power, 2. Honor, 3. Wealth*: First, *Power*, to be Hereditary *Constable of England*, not to hold it as he did *pro arbitrio Regis*, but in the right of his descent. Secondly, *Honor*, the Earldome of *Hereford*. Thirdly, *Wealth*, that partage of Land mentioned by the *Animadvertor*. I instanced onely in the first, the pride of this Duke, being notoriously known to be more than his *covetousnesse*, not denying but that the Kings denial of the Land he requested, had an effectual influence on his discontent.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 169. *At last the coming in of the Lord Stanley with three thousand fresh men decided the controversie on the Earls side.*] Our Author is out in this also. It was not the Lord Stanley, but his Brother *Sir William Stanley*, who came in so seasonably, and thereby turn'd the Scale, and chang'd the fortune of the day. For which service he was afterward made *Lord Chamberlain* of the new Kings Household, and advanc'd to great Riches and Estates, but finally beheaded by that very King for whom, and to whom he had done the same. But the King look'd upon this action with another eye. And therefore when the merit of his service was interposed to mitigate the Kings displeasure, and preserve the man, the King remembred very shrewdly, that as he came soon enough to win the Victory, so he staid long enough to have lost it.

Fuller.

Though a *courteous Prolepsis* might salve all the matter, yet (to prevent exceptions) in my next Edition, the Lord shall be degraded into *Sir William Stanley*.

The first of these is the fact that the  
the second is the fact that the  
the third is the fact that the

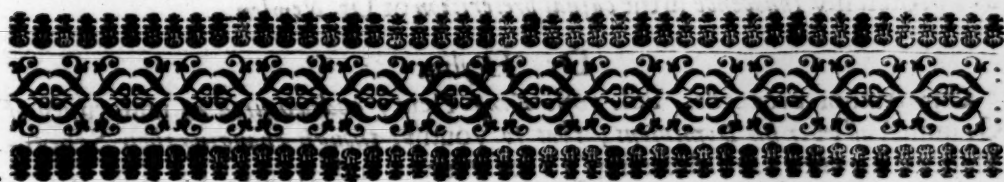
The first of these is the fact that the  
the second is the fact that the  
the third is the fact that the  
the fourth is the fact that the  
the fifth is the fact that the  
the sixth is the fact that the  
the seventh is the fact that the  
the eighth is the fact that the  
the ninth is the fact that the  
the tenth is the fact that the

The first of these is the fact that the  
the second is the fact that the  
the third is the fact that the  
the fourth is the fact that the  
the fifth is the fact that the  
the sixth is the fact that the  
the seventh is the fact that the  
the eighth is the fact that the  
the ninth is the fact that the  
the tenth is the fact that the

The first of these is the fact that the  
the second is the fact that the  
the third is the fact that the  
the fourth is the fact that the  
the fifth is the fact that the  
the sixth is the fact that the  
the seventh is the fact that the  
the eighth is the fact that the  
the ninth is the fact that the  
the tenth is the fact that the

The first of these is the fact that the  
the second is the fact that the  
the third is the fact that the  
the fourth is the fact that the  
the fifth is the fact that the  
the sixth is the fact that the  
the seventh is the fact that the  
the eighth is the fact that the  
the ninth is the fact that the  
the tenth is the fact that the





## THE FIFTH BOOK.

*Relating to the time of King Henry the Eighth.*

Dr. Heylin.

**W**E are now come to the busie times of King Henry the Eighth, in which the power of the Church was much diminished, though not reduced to such ill terms as our Author makes it. We have him here laying his foundations to overthrow that little which is left of the Churches Rights. His super-structures we shall see in the times ensuing more seasonable for the practise of that Authority which in this fifth Book he hammereth onely in the speculation.

Fuller.

I deny, and defie any such Designe, to overthrow the foundations of the Churches right. If the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous doe? If my Back could buttresse them up, it should not be wanting. However, I am not sensible that any such invasion was made on the true property of the Church, but that the King resumed what by God was invested in him, and what by the Pope was unjustly taken from him; though none can justify every particular in the managery of the Reformation.

Dr. Heylin.

But first we will begin with such Animadversions as relate unto this time and story, as they come in our way, leaving such principles and positions as concern the Church, to the close of all, where we shall draw them all together, that our discourse and observations thereupon may come before the Reader without interruption.

And the first thing I meete with, is a fault of Omission; Dr. Newlen who succeeded Dr. Jackson in the Presidentship of Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford, Anno 1640 by a free election, and in a statutable way, being left out of our Authors Catalogue of the Presidents of C. C. C. in Oxford, fol. 166. and Dr. Stanton who came in by the power of the Visitors above eight years after being placed therein. Which I thought fit (though otherwise of no great moment) to take notice of, that I might doe the honest man that right which our Author doth not.

Fuller.

Would the Animadvertor had given me the Christian, as well as the Sir-name of the Doctor, that I may enter it in my next Edition. But I will endeavour some other wayes to recover it.

Such, and greater Omissions, often attend the Pens of the most exact Authors. Witnesse the Lord Stanhop, created Baron of Harrington in Northampton-shire, *sermo Farabii*, left out in all the Editions [Latine and English] of the Industrious and Judicious Mr. Camden though his junior Baron (the Lord Arundel of Wardour

Wardour) be there inserted. This his omission proceeded not from the least neglect, as I protest my Innocence in the casual preterition of Dr. Newlen.

Dr. Heylin.

Acta Convoca-  
tionis 1530.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 168. *King Henry endeavoured an uniformity of Grammer all over his Dominions; that so youths, though changing their School-Masters, might keep their learning.*] That this was endeavoured by King Henry, and at last enjoyed, I shall easily grant. But then our Author should have told us (if at least he knew it) that the first hint thereof proceeded from the Convocation in the year 1530. in which, complaint being made, *Quod multiplex & varius in Scholis Grammaticalibus modus esset docendi, &c.* That the multiplicities of Grammarians did much hurt to learning; it was thought meet by the Prelates and Clergy then assembled, *Ut una eadem edatur formula auctoritate hujus sacra Synodi, in qualibet & singula Schola Grammaticali per Cantuariensem Provinciam usitanda & edocenda*: that is to say, that one onely form of teaching Grammar should be enjoyed from thenceforth by the Authority of the Convocation, to be used in all the Grammar Schools of the Province of Canterbury. Which being so agreed upon, Lilly then Schoolmaster of St. Pauls School, was thought the fittest man for that undertaking; and he performed his part so well, that within few years after, it was enjoyed by the Kings Proclamation to be used in all the Schools throughout the Kingdom. But here we are to note withall, that our Author anticipates this businesse, placing it in the eleventh year of this King, Anno 1519. whereas the Convocation took not this into consideration till the eighth of March, Anno 1530. and certainly would not have medled in it then, if the King had settled and enjoyed it so long before.

Fuller.

The Animadvertor discovers much indiscretion, in cavelling at a well-timed truth in my Book, and substituting a falshood in the room thereof.

The endeavor of Henry the eight, for uniformity of Grammar throughout all his Dominions, begun (as I have placed it) one thousand five hundred and nineteen, William Lillye being the prime person imployed for the composition thereof.

Indeed it met not with universal Reception for some years (*habits* not being easily deposed;) and therefore the Convocation concurring with the Kings pleasure therein, added their assistance in the year 1530. as the Animadvertor observeth; and soon after by the Kings Proclamation, the matter was generally effected.

But whereas he sayth, That after that time 1530. William Lillye was thought the fittest man for that undertaking, Let me tell him, That a man dead five, if not eight years before, was not fit to make a Grammar.

I appeal to Bale and Pitts, both which render William Lillye to dye in the year 1525. but mistaken herein; For indeed he dyed three years before, if the Epitaph on his Monument, made by his sonne George Lillye, may be believed, in a brass plate near the great North dore of St. Pauls.

*Gulielmo Lilio Paulina Schola olim, Preceptori Primaria, & Agneti Conjugi, in Sacratissimo hujus Templi cimiterio hinc à tergo nunc destructo sepultis, Georgius Lilius hujus Ecclesie Canonicus, parentum memoria pia consulens, Tabellam hanc ab amicis conservatam, hic reponendam curavit. Obiit ille G. L. Anno Dom. 1522. Calend. Mart. Vixit annos 54.*

Wherefore this unnecessary Animadversion, to correct what was right before, might very well have been spared.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 168. *Howsoever it is probable, some other Gardiner gathered the Flowers (made the Collections) though King Henry had the honor to wear*



*wear the Pofie.*] I am not ignorant that the making of the Kings Book against *Martin Luther*, is by some *Popish* Writers ascribed to *Dr. John Fisher*, then Bishop of *Rocheſter*. But this Cavil was not made till after this King had rejected the *Popes* Supremacy, and confequently the leſſe credit to be given unto it. It is well known, that his Father King *Henry the ſeventh* deſigned him for the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, and to that end cauſed him to be trained up in all parts of learning which might enable him for that place. But his eldeſt brother Prince *Arthur* dying, and himſelf ſucceeding in the Crown, though he had laid aſide the thoughts of being a *Prieſt*, he could not but retain that Learning which he had acquired, and reckon it amongſt the faireſt Flowers which adorned his Diadem. Too great a Clerk he was to be called *Beauclerk junior*, as it he were as ſhort in learning of King *Henry the firſt* (whom commonly they called *Beauclerk*) as he was in time, though ſo our Author would fain have it, *Hiſt. Cam. p. 2.3.* A little Learning went a great way in thoſe early dayes, which in this King would have made no ſhew, in whoſe time both the Arts and Languages began to flouriſh. And if our Author doth not ſuſpect this Kings lack of learning, he hath no reaſon to ſuſpect his lack of time, the work being ſmall, the glory great, and helps enough at hand if he wanted any. But of this enough.

Fuller.

No conſiderable variation from what I have written, ſo that my Answer thereunto is not required. Let him be another *Beauclerk* inſtead of *Beauclerk junior*.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 196. Which when finiſhed (as *White-Hall*, *Hampton-Court*, &c.) he either freely gave to the King, or exchanged them on very reaſonable conſiderations.] That *Hampton-Court* was either freely given by *Wolſey*, or otherwiſe exchanged on very reaſonable terms, I ſhall grant as eaſily; but *Whitehall* was none of his to give, as belonging to the Archbiſhop in the right of the See of *York*, and then called *York place*. But the Kings Palace at *Weſtmiſter* being lately burnt, and this houſe much beautified by the Cardinal, the King caſt a longing eye upon it; and having attained the Cardinal in a *Premunire*, he ſeiſed upon this houſe with all the furniture thereof, as a part of the ſpoil. Which when he found he could not hold, as being the Archbiſhops and not the Cardinals, he ſent an *Instrument* unto him, to be ſigned and ſealed for the ſurrendry of his title and eſtate therein; and not content to have forc'd it from him (the Cardinal honeſtly declaring his inability to make good the grant) he cauſed the *Dean and Chapter* of *York* to confirm the ſame unto him under their Common Seal, in due form of Law; which being obtained, and much coſt beſtowed upon the Houſe, he cauſed it to be called *Whitehall*; gratifying the Archbiſhops of *York* with another Houſe, belonging then to the See of *Norwich*, and now called *York-houſe*.

Fuller.

My words are, he either freely gave to the King, or exchanged them, [but I ſay not *FREELY*] on very reaſonable terms. Now though he did not freely give *Whitehall* to the King, he exchanged it, (though unwillingly) on very reaſonable conſiderations; ſeeing for bigneſſe, building, and circuit of ground, it then was worth Ten of *York-houſe*, given to his See, in lieu thereof. However, the *Animadvertor* is exact in ſome circumſtances of this Exchange, which I knew not before.

Dr Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 170. So that lately there were maintin'd therein one Dean, eight Canons, three publique Profeſſors of Divinity, Hebrew and Greek, ſixty Students, &c.] Our Author tells us, *Lib. 4.* that he ſpent ſeventeen weeks in this Univerſity, but he that looks on this and ſome other paſſages, would think he had not tarried there above ſeventeen hours.

P p

Fuller.

Fuller.

Yea, the Animadvertor would perswade his Reader, That I never spent *seventeen weekes in Oxford* or in any other *University*, if all the errors be so many and great as he accuseth me of. But I prepare my selfe to heare his Charge.

Dr. Heylin.

For besides his omitting of Dr. *Newlin* spoken of before, and his giving of the name of *Censors* to the Deans of *Magdalen*, which I finde afterwards, *Lib. 8. fol. 7.* he is very much mistaken in the matters of *Christ Church*.

Fuller.

What Dr. *Newlin* again? What if I called the Dean of *Magdalen Colledge*, the *Censor. Grande piaculum!*

Doe I not confesse it possible, That my *Cambridge Sibboleth* may make me lisp, and mispronounce the topickall offices in *Oxford*, and publicly desired pardon, when such mistakes are committed? Where hath the Animadvertor left or lost his ingenuity, that so another may looke after, and make use of it, if so pleased?

Hereafter I shall remember that there is, though not a *Censor* now living in *Magdalen Colledge*, yet there was therein a *Censor* [the Animadvertor] when no just cause is given him.

I expected rather, that he would have *thanked*, than *censured* me; Who being a *Cambridge man*, and finding their printed Catalogue of the presidents of *Magdalen Colledge* imperfect, as set forth by their own Antiquary *Bryan Twyne*, did amend the same, by inserting (in his due time) no meaner man than Dr. *Walser Haddon*, that famous and learned Civilian formerly omitted.

Dr. Heylin.

For first the *three Professors*, of *Divinity*, *Hebrew*, and *Greek*, are no necessary parts of that foundation, nor can be properly said to be founded in it. Till of late times they were and might be of other Colledges, as they are at this present, this *Colledge* being onely bound to pay them for their annuall Pensions fourty pounds a piece. In after times, *King James* annexed a Prebends place in this Church, to the Professor of Divinity, as *King Charles* did another to the *Hebrew Reader*. But for the *Greek Reader* he hath only his bare pension from it, and hath no other relation to it, but by accident onely; the last *Greek Reader* of this House being Dr. *John Perin* who dyed in the yeare 1615

Fuller.

I say not, that those three professors were founded in that *Colledge*, but that they are maintained therein. And seeing the *Colledge* (as the Animadvertor confesseth) payes them their salaries, my words are subje& to no just Exceptions.

Dr. Heylin.

And secondly, he is very far short in the number of Students, diminishing them from an hundred to sixtie, there being an Hundred and one of that foundation by the name of Students, equivalent to the Fellowes of most other Colledges in the Revenues of their place and all advantages and encouragements in the way of learning. But this perhaps hath somewhat in it of design, that by making the foundations of *Oxford* to seeme lesse than they are, those in the other *University*, might appear the fairer.

Fuller.

'Tis a meere pen-slip, and shall be amended accordingly. God knowes I hatch no such envious design, who could wish, that not onely sixty, but six score six hundred, were founded, &c. therein. Always provided



ded, That the *Nursery* exceed not the *Orchard*: And that the Universities by too large a Plantation breed not more Scholars, than the Kingdome is able to prefer and employ.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 171. *And here Wolsey had provided him a second Wife (viz.) Margaret Countesse of Alanzon, sister to Francis King of France.* As much out in his *French* as his *English* Heraldry. For first the Lady Margaret here spoken of, was never Countesse, though sometimes Dutchesse of Alanzon, as being once wife to Charles the fourth Duke thereof. And secondly, at the time when King Henries Divorce from Queen Katherine was first agitated, this Lady was not in a capacity of being projected for a Wife to King Henry the eighth, being then actually in the bed of another Henry, &c.

Fuller.

Margaret (who shall be amended Dutchesse) of Alanzon was Here, (I mean not just in this year, but in this businesse, afterwards designed by Wolsey for a Wife to King Henry.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 178. *Yet had he the whole Revenues of York Archbishoprick (worth then little lesse than four thousand pounds yearly) besides a large Pension paid him out of the Bishoprick of Winchester.* And a large Pension it was indeed (if it were a Pension) which amounted to the whole Revenue, &c.

Fuller.

For quietnesse sake, he shall have the whole Bishoprick, though I have read, that after Wolsey fell in the Kings displeasure, his revenue in Winchester (which he kept in Commendam) was reduced to a Pension.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 184. *The Clergy of the Province of Canterbury alone bestowed on the King One hundred thousand pounds, to be paid by equall portions in the same year, say some; in four years say others, and that in my opinion with more probability.* Here have we three Authors for one thing, some, others, and our Author himself, more knowing than all the rest in his own opinion. But all out alike. This great summe was not to be paid in one year, nor in four years neither, but to be paid by equall portions (that is to say, by twenty thousand pound per annum) in the five years following, &c.

Fuller.

Not reckoning the first summe, which was paid down on the Nail, that had just four years assigned them for the payment of the remainder.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 186. *But he might have remembred, which also produced the peerlesse Queen Elizabeth, who perfected the Reformation.* Either our Author speaks not this for his own opinion, as in that before, or if he doe, it is an opinion of his own, in which he is not like to finde many followers. The Puritan party whom he acts for in all this work, will by no means grant it; comparing that most excellent Lady in their frequent Palquils, to an idle Huswife, who sweeps the middle of the house to make a shew, but leaves all the dirt and rubbish behind the door. The grand Composers of the Directory doe perswade themselves, that if the first Reformers had been then alive, they would have joynd with them in the work, and laboured for a further Reformation. And what else hath been clamoured for during all her Reign, and the Ring-leaders of the Faction endeavoured ever since her death, but to carry on the work of Reformation from one step to another

Pres. to the  
Directory.

another, till they had brought it unto such a perfection as they vainly dreamt of, and of which now we feel and see the most bitter consequences? And as for the *Prelatical* party, the *high Royallists*, as our Author calls them, they conceive the *Reformation* was not so perfected in the time of that *prudent Queen*, but that there was somewhat left to doe for her two Successors; that is to say, the altering of some Rubricks in the Book of Common-prayer, the adding of some Collects at the end of the Letany, the enlargement of the common Catechism, a more exact translation of the Bible than had been before, the settling of the Church upon the Canons of 603. and finally, a stricter and more hopefull course for suppressing Popery, and for the maintenance both of conformity and uniformity by the Canons of 640.

Fuller.

I have the company of many *honest* and *learned* men going before, with, or after me, in the same opinion.

*Perfection*, in relation to the Church, is two-fold, *Absolute* or *Exact*, *Gradual* or *Comparative*.

The former is onely *Christs work* to perform, for whom alone the honor is reserved, to present the Church without spot or wrinkle to his father.

The latter, viz. *Gradual* and *Comparative Perfection*, may be attributed to particular *militant* Churches.

Queen Elizabeth did gradually perfect the Reformation, leaving it in a farre better condition than she found it in, in the reign of King Edward the sixth. Yet doe I not deny but that her Successors made commendable additions thereunto, notwithstanding all whose endeavors, I doubt not but still something did remain, to be amended; So that it will be *perfectio perficienda* as long as the Church is militant.

The Animadvertor must not strain up perfection (when applicable to any Church \* Heb. 11. 23. on Earth) too high to the Pin, with which the spirits\* of just men are made perfect. For as long as the Church hath a FORME on Earth, it will be subject to deformities, and consequently will need reformation.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 187. And now I cannot call King Henry a Batchelor, because once married; nor a married man, because having no wife; nor properly a Widower, because his wife was not dead.] Our Author speaks this of Henry the eighth immediatly after his divorce, but is much mistaken in the matter. King Henry was so averse from living without a Wife, that he thought it more agreeable to his constitution to have two Wives together, than none at all. To that end while the businesse of the Divorce remained undecided, he was married privately to the Lady Anne Bullen, on the 14 of November, &c.

Fuller.

It will rectifie all if I change those words *having no wife*, into *as yet publickly owning no wife*, which shall be done accordingly.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 208. Though many wilde and distempered Expressions be found therein, yet they contain the Protestant Religion in Oare, which since by Gods blessing is happily refined.] Our Author speaks this of a Paper containing many erroneous Doctrines presented by the Prolocutor to the Convocation: some few of which, as being part of Wickliff's Gospel and chief ingredients in the Composition of the new Protestant Religion lately taken up, I shall here subjoyn.

1. That the Sacrament of the Altar, is nothing else but a piece of bread, or a little predie Round-Robin.

2. That Priests have no more Authority to minister Sacraments than the Lay-men have.

3. That



3. That all Ceremonies accustomed in the Church, which are not clearly expressed in Scripture, must be taken away, because they are Mens inventions.

4. That the Church commonly so called is the old Synagogue; and that the Church, is the Congregation of good men onely.

5. That God never gave grace nor knowledge of holy Scripture to any great Estate or rich man, and that they in no wise follow the same.

6. That all things ought to be common.

7. That it is as lawfull to Christen a child in a Tub of water at home, or in a Ditch by the way, as in a Font-stone in the Church.

8. That it is no sin or offence to eat White-meats, Egges, Butter, Cheese, or Flesh in Lent, or other Fasting dayes commanded by the Church, and received by consent of Christian people.

9. That it is as lawfull to eat flesh on Good-Friday, as upon Easter-day, or other times in the year.

10. That the Ghostly Father cannot give or enjoyn any penance at all.

11. That it is sufficient for a Man or Woman to make their confession to God alone.

12. That it is as lawfull at all times to confesse to a Lay-man, as to a Priest.

13. That it is sufficient that the sinner doe say, I know my self a sinner.

14. That Bishops, Ordinaries, and Ecclesiastical Judges, have no Authority to give any sentence of Excommunication or censure, ne yet to absolve or loose any man from the same.

15. That it is not necessary or profitable to have any Church or Chappel to pray in, or to doe any divine service in.

16. That buryings in Churches and Church-yards be unprofitable and vain.

17. That the rich and costly Ornaments in the Church are rather high displeasure than pleasure or honour to God.

18. That our Lady was no better than another Woman, and like a bag of Pepper or Saffron when the spice is out.

19. That Prayers, Suffrages, Fasting, or Alms-deeds, doe not help to take away sin.

20. That Holy-dayes ordained and instituted by the Church, are not to be observed and kept in reverence, in as much as all dayes and times be alike.

21. That Plowing and Carting, and such servile work, may be done in the same, without any offence at all, as on other dayes.

22. That it is sufficient and enough to beleewe, though a man doe no good works at all.

23. That seeing Christ hath shed his blood for us, and Redeemed us, we need not to doe any thing at all, but to believe and repent if we have offended.

24. That no humane Constitutions or Laws do binde any Christian man, but such as be in the Gospels, Pauls Epistles, or the New Testament: and that a man may break them without any offence at all.

25. That the singing or saying of Mass, Mattens, or Even song, is but a roling, howling, whistling, mumming, tomring, and jugling, and the playing on the Organs a foolish vanity.

This is our Authors golden Oare, out of which his new Protestant Religion was to be extracted. So happily refin'd, that there is nothing of the *Old Christian Religion* to be found therein. Which though our Author doth defend as *Expressions rather than Opinions, the Careers of the Soul, and Extravagancies of humane infirmity*, as he doth the rest; yet he that looks upon these points, and sees not in them the rude draught and lineaments of the *Puritan Plat-form*, which they have been hammering since the time of *Cartwright* and his Associates, must either have better eyes than mine, or no eyes at all. I see our Author looks for thanks for this discovery for publishing the paper which contain'd these *new Protestant truths*, and I give him mine.

Fuller.

I have many things to return in this Contest. First, had I garbled the Opinions

Q9

of

of my own Head, and not presented them to the Reader, as I found them presented in the *Records of the Convocation*, then the *Animadvertor* had had just advantage against me.

Secondly, He taketh exception at me in his *Introduction*, for not giving in the *Degrees by which Heterodoxies in Religion were ejected and cast out* : Yet now he is offended at me, because I goe about to doe it, shewing how bad Religion was before the Reformation, even in the best Professors thereof.

Thirdly, It is more than probable, that these Opinions, presented by such as were disaffected to the Reformation, were not over favourably stated, but rather worded to the disadvantage.

Fourthly, Some of these Opinions, thus condemned by the *Animadvertor*, are found in themselves. I instance in that which in this his *List* is the eleventh in number, *viz. That it is sufficient for a man or woman to make confession to God alone*. This at this day is defended by the Protestant Church, which though commending Confession as expedient in some cases, especially when the afflicted Conscience cannot otherwise get any ease, yet doth it not command it on any as necessary, *neccesitate precepti*, so that the omission thereof should amount to a sin. I am confident that the *Animadvertor* himself never solemnly confessed his sins to any but to God alone. And it is injurious in him, to demand of another to doe that which was never done by himself.

\* Jer. 14. 2.

Lastly, How unjust were it to put all \* *Jeremies bad figs by themselves*, and thence to conclude all the rest (which indeed were very good) to be like unto them ? Such the dealing of the *Animadvertor* herein, who hath called out the very *Refuse* and *Dross* of the *Dross* in these Opinions, and left out the rest, then maintained by Gods People in opposition to the *Errors* and *Superstition* of that Age, some whereof are here inserted.

1. They deny Extreme Unction to be any Sacrament.
2. That all those are Antichrists, who deny the Laity the Sacrament *under both kinds*.
3. That it is plain Idolatry, to set up any Lights before any Images, or in any place of the Church in time of Divine Service, as long as the Sun giveth light.
4. That Auricular Confession is invented to know the secrets of mens hearts, and to pull money out of their purse.
5. That Saints are not to be invoked, and that they understand not, nor know nothing of our Petitions, nor can be *Mediators or Intercessors* betwixt us and God.
6. That *Diriges, Masses, &c.* done for the Souls of those which are departed out of this World, are but vain, and of no profit.
7. That Souls departed goe strait to Heaven, others to Hell.
8. That there is no mean place betwixt Heaven and Hell, where Souls departed may be afflicted.
9. That there is no distinction of Sin, to be Venial and Mortal.
10. That hallowed Water, Bread, Candles, Ashes, Palmes, are of none effect, and are onely used to seduce people.

The rest I refer to my *Church-History*.

Had that all been like these, I would have called them the *Gold*, but (because of many Errors mixed amongst them) I resume my *Metaphor*, and term them the *Golden Ore*, out of which the *Reformed Christian Religion* was extracted. And let the *Author* and *Reader* joyn in their thanks to Gods Goodnesse, by whose blessing on the pious endeavors of the Reformers, the *bad Figs*, I mean those false, indiscreet, scandalous, and dangerous Doctrines are cashired and condemned, and the good ones, understand me, the *Positions* which were pious and orthodox, retained, defended and practised at this day in the Church of England.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 239. *At this time also were the Stews suppressed by the Kings command.* And I could wish that some command had been laid upon our



our Author by the Parliament to suppress them also, and not to have given them any place in the present History, especially not to have produc'd those arguments by which some shamelesse persons endeavoured to maintain both the *conveniency and necessity* of such common *Brothel-houses*. Had Bishop Jewel been alive, and seen but half so much from Dr. Harding pleading in behalf of the *common women* Defence of the Apolog. permitted by the Pope in Rome, he would have thought, that to call him an Advocate for the *Stews* had not been enough. But that Doctor was not half so wise as our Author is, and doth not fit each Argument with a several *Antidote* as our Author doth, hoping thereby, but vainly hoping, that the arguments alledged will be wash'd away. Some of our late Criticks had a like Designe in marking all the wanton and obscene Epigrams in *Martial* with a *Hand* or *Asterism*, to the intent that young Scholars, when they read that Author, might be fore-warn'd to passe them over: Whereas on the contrary, it was found, that too many young fellows, or *wanton wits*, as our Author calls them, did ordinarily skip over the rest, and pitch on those which were so mark't and set out unto them. And much I fear that it will so fall out with our Author also, whose Arguments will be studied and made use of, when his Answers will not.

## Fuller.

The commendable Act of King Henry the eighth, in suppressing the *Stews*, may well be reported in *Church-History*, it being recorded in \* *Scripture* to the eternal praise of King *Asa*, that he took away the *Sodomites* out of the Land. I hope my collection of arguments in confutation of such *Styes of Lust*, will appear to any rational Reader of sufficient validity. \* 1 King. 15. 12.

Indeed it is reported of *Zeuxes*, that famous Painter, that he so lively pictured a Boy with a Rod in his hand, carrying a Basket of Grapes, that *Birds* (mistaking them for real ones) peckt at them; and whilst others commended his *Art*, he was angry with his own *work-manship*, confessing, that if he had made the Boy but as well as the *Grapes*, the *Birds* durst not adventure at them.

I have the same just cause to be offended with my own endeavors, if the Arguments against those *Schools of Wantonnesse* should prove insufficient, though I am confident that if seriously considered, they doe in their own true weight preponderate those produced in favour of them. However, if my well-intended pains be abused by such who onely will feed on the *poisons*, wholly neglecting the *Antidotes*, their destruction is of themselves, and I can wash my hands of any fault therein.

But methinks the Animadverſor might well have passed this over in silence, for fear of awaking sleeping wantonnesse, jogged by this his Note; so that if my Arguments, onely presented in my Book, be singly, this his Animadversion is doubly guilty on the same account, occasioning loose eyes to reflect on that which otherwise would not be observed.

## Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 253. Otherwise some suspect, had he survived King Edward the sixth, we might presently have heard of a King Henry the ninth.] Our Author speaks this of Henry Fitz Roy, the Kings natural Son by Elizabeth Blunt, and the great disturbance he might have wrought to the Kings two daughters in their Succession to the Crown. A Prince indeed whom his Father very highly cherished, creating him Duke of Somerses and Richmond, Earl of Nottingham, and Earl Marshal of England, and raising him to no small hopes of the Crown it self, as appears plainly by the Statute 22 H. 8. c. 7. But whereas our Author speaks it on a supposition of his surviving King Edward the sixth, he should have done well in the first place to have inform'd himself, whether this Henry and Prince Edward were at any time alive together. And if my Books speak true, they were not; Henry of Somerses and Richmond dying the 22 of July, Anno 1536. Prince Edward not being born till the 12 of October, Anno 1537. So that if our Author had been but as good at Law or Grammar, as he is at Heraldry, he would not have spoke of

of a Survivor-ship in such a case, when the one person had been long dead before the other was born.

Fuller.

*Terms of Law* when used not in *Law-Books*, nor in any *solemn Court*, but in *common Discourse*, are weaned from their *critical sense*, and admit more *latitude*. If the word *surviving* should be tied up to *legal strictness*, *Survivour* is applicable to none save onely to such who are *Joint-tenants*. However, because *co-viving* is properly required in a *Survivor*, those my words *had he survived*, shall be altered into *had he lived to survive* Prince Edward, and then all is beyond exception.

Dr. Heylin.

These incoherent Animadversions being thus passed over, we now proceed to the Examination of our Authors *Principles*, for weakning the Authority of the Church, and subjecting it in all proceedings to the power of *Parliaments*. Concerning which he had before given us two Rules Preparatory to the great business which we have in hand. First, *that the proceedings of the Canon Law were subject in whatsoever touched temporals, to secular Laws and National Customes. And the Laitie at pleasure limited Canons in this behalf*, Lib.3.n.61. And secondly, *that the King by consent of Parliament directed the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Court in cases of Heresie. Lib.4.n.88.* And if the Ecclesiastical power was thus curbed and fettered when it was at the highest, there is no question to be made, but that it was much more obnoxious to the secular Courts when it began to sink in reputation, and decline in strength. How true and justifiable, or rather how unjustifiable and false these two principles are, we have shewn already, and must now look into the rest, which our Author in pursuance of the main Design hath presented to us. But first we must take notice of another passage concerning the calling of Convocations or Synodical meetings, formerly called by the two Archbishops in their several Provinces by their own sole and proper power, as our Author grants, fol.190. to which he adds,

Fol.190. *But after the Statute of Premunire was made (which did much restrain the Papal power, and subject it to the Laws of the Land) when Archbishops called no more Convocations by their sole and absolute command, but at the pleasure of the King.* In which I must confesse my self to be much unsatisfied, though I finde the same position in some other Authors. My reasons two, 1. Because there is nothing in the Statute of *Premunire* to restrain the Archbishops from calling these meetings as before; that Act extending onely to such as *purchase or pursue, or cause to be purchased or pursued, in the Court of Rome, or elsewhere any such Translations, Processes, Sentences of Excommunication, Bulls, Instruments, or any other things whatsoever which touch the King, against him, his Crown and his Regality, or his Realm; or to such as bring within the Realm or them receive, or make thereof notification, or any other Execution whatsoever within the same Realm, or without, &c.* And secondly, because I finde in the Statute of the *submission of the Clergy*, that it was recognized and acknowledged by the *Clergie* in their *Convocation*, that the *Convocation* of the said *Clergie* is, alwaies hath been, and ought to be assembled alwaies by the *Kings Writ*. And if they had been alwaies call'd by the *Kings Writ*, then certainly before the Statute of *Premunire*; for that the whole *Clergy* in their *Convocation* should publicly declare and avow a notorious falshood, especially in a matter of fact, is not a thing to be imagined. I must confesse my self to be at a losse in this intricate Labyrinth, unless perhaps there were some critical difference in those elder times between a *Synod* and a *Convocation*: the first being call'd by the Archbishops in their several and respective Provinces, as the necessities of the Church; the other only by the King, as his occasion and affairs did require the same. But whether this were so or not, is not much material, as the case now stands, the *Clergie* not assembling since the 25 of *King Henry the eighth*, but as they are convoked and convened by the *Kings Writ* only. I only add that the time and year of this submission is mistook by our Author, who placeth it in 1533. whereas indeed the

Clergy



Clergy made this acknowledgement and submission in their Convocation, *Anno* 1532. though it pass'd not into an Act or Statute till the year next following. Well then, suppose the Clergy call'd by the Kings Authority, and all their Acts and Constitutions ratified by the *Royals* assent, are they of force to binde the Subject to submit and conform unto them? Not, if our Author may be judge; for he tels us plainly,

Fol. 191. *That even such Convocations with the Royal assent, subject not any (for recusancie to obey their Canons) to a civil penalty in person or property, until confirmed by Act of Parliament.* I marvel where our Author took up this opinion, which he neither findes in the Registers of Convocation, or Records of Parliament. Himself hath told us, fol. 190. that *such Canons and Constitutions* as were concluded on in Synods or Convocations, before the passing of the Statute of *Premunire*, were without any further Ratification, obligatory to all subjected to their jurisdiction. And he hath told us also of such Convocations as had been called between the passing of the Statute of *Premunire*, and the Act for Submission, that *they made Canons which were binding, although none other than Synodical Authority did confirm the same.* Upon which premisses I shall not fear to raise this Syllogism, viz. That power which the Clergy had in their Convocations before their submission to the King, to binde the Subject by their Canons and Constitutions without any further ratification than own Synodical Authority, the same they had when the Kings power signified in his *Royal assent* was added to them; but the Clergy (by our Authors own confession) had power in their Convocations before their submission to the King, to bind the Subject by their Canons and Constitutions, without any further ratification than their own Synodical Authority; Ergo they had the same power to bind the Subjects, when the Kings power signified by the Royal assent was added to them. The *Minor* being granted by our Author, as before is shewed, the *Major* is onely to be proved. And for the proof hereof, I am to put the Reader in minde of a Petition or Remonstrance exhibited to the King by the House of Commons, *Anno* 1532. in which they shewed themselves agrieved, that the Clergy of this Realm should act Authoritatively and Supremely in the Convocations, and they in Parliament do nothing, but as it was confirmed and ratified by Royal assent. By which it seems that there was nothing then desired by the House of Commons, but that the Convocation should be brought down to the same level with the Houses of Parliament; and that their Acts and Constitutions should not binde the Subject as before, in their Goods and Possessions, until they were confirmed and ratified by the Regal Power. The Answer unto which Remonstrance being drawn up by Dr. Gardiner then newly made Bishop of Winchester, and allowed of by both Houses of Convocation, was by them presented to the King. But the King not satisfied with this Answer, resolves to bring them to his bent, lest else perhaps they might have acted something to the hindrance of his divorce, which was at that time in agitation; and therefore on the tenth of May he sends a Paper to them by Dr. Fox, (after Bishop of Hereford) in which it was peremptorily required, *That no Constitution or Ordinance shall be hereafter by the Clergy Enacted, Promulged, or put in Execution, unlesse the Kings Highnesse do approve the same by his high Authority and Royal assent; and his advice and favour be also interposed for the execution of every such Constitution among his Highnesse Subjects.* And though the Clergy on the receipt of this paper remov'd first to the Chappel of St. Katherine, and after unto that of St. Dunstan to consult about it, yet found they no Saint able to inspire them with a resolution contrary to the Kings desires; and therefore upon the Wednesday following, being the fiftenth of the same Moneth, they made their absolute submission, binding themselves in *Verbo Sacerdotii*, not to make or execute any Canons or other Synodical Constitutions, but as they were from time to time enabled by the Kings Authority. But this submission being made unto the King in his single person, and not as in conjunction with his Houses of Parliament, could neither bring the Convocation under the command of Parliaments, nor render them obnoxious to the power thereof, as indeed it did not. But to the contrary hereof it is said by our Author, that

Fol. 194. *He (viz. the King) by the advice and consent of his Clergy in Convocation and great Council in Parliament, resolved to reform the Church under his inspection from grosse abuses crept into it.*] To this I need no other Answer than our Author himself, who though in this place he makes the Parliament to be joyned in Commission with the Convocation, as if a joynt Agent in that great businesse of Reforming the Church; yet in another place he tells us another tale. "For fol. 188. It will appear, saith he (and I can tell from whom he saith it) upon serious examination, that there was nothing done in the Reformation of Religion, save what was acted by the Clergy in their Convocations, or grounded on some Act of theirs precedent to it, with the Advice, Counsel, and Consent of the Bishops and most eminent Church-men; confirmed upon the Postfact, and not otherwise by the Civil Sanction, according to the usage of the best and happiest times of Christianity. So then the Reformation of the Church was acted chiefly by the King with the advice of the Clergy in their Convocation; the confirmation on the post-fact by the King in Parliament: and that (by his leave) not in all the Acts and Particulars of it, but in some few onely, for which consult the Tract entituled, *The Way and Manner of the Reformation of the Church of England*. Now as our Author makes the Parliament a joynt Assistant with the King in the Reformation, so he conferreth on Parliaments the Supreme Power of ratifying and confirming all Synodical Acts.

Fol. 199. *The Parliament (saith he) did notifie and declare that Ecclesiastical Power to be in the King, which the Pope had formerly unjustly invaded: Yet so, that they reserved to themselves the confirming power of all Canons Ecclesiastical; so that the person or property of Refusers should not be subjected to temporal penalty without consent of Parliament.*] But certainly there is no such matter in that Act of Parliament, in which the submission of the Clergy and the Authority of the King grounded thereupon is notified and recorded to succeeding times; nor any such reservation to themselves of a confirming power, as our Author speaks of, in any Act of Parliament (I can knowingly and boldly say it) from that time to this. Had there been any such Priviledge, any such Reservation as is here declared, their Power in confirming Ecclesiastical Canons had been Lord Paramount to the Kings; who could have acted nothing in it, but as he was enabled by his Houses of Parliament. Nor is this onely a new and unheard of Paradox or Heterodoxie (as I may call it) in point of Law, but plainly contrary to the practise of the Kings of England from that time to this; there being no Synodical Canons or Constitutions (I dare as boldly say this too) confirmed in Parliament, or any otherwise ratified, than by the superadding of the Royal assent. For proof whereof look we no further than the Canons of 603 and 640 confirmed by the two Kings respectively, and without any other Authority concurring with them in these following words (*viz.*) "We have therefore for Us, our Heirs, and lawfull Successors, of our especial Grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, given, and by these presents doe give our Royal assent according to the form of the said Statute or Act of Parliament aforesaid, to all and every of the said Canons, Orders, Ordinances, and Constitutions, and to all and every thing in them contained, And furthermore, we doe not onely by our said Prerogative Royal, and Supreme Authority, in causes Ecclesiastical, ratifie, confirm, and establish by these our Letters Patents, the said Canons, Orders, Ordinances, and Constitutions, and all and every thing in them contained, as is aforesaid: But doe likewise propound, publish, and straightly enjoyn and command by our said Authority, and by these our Letters Patents, the same to be diligently observed, executed, and equally kept by all our loving Subjects of this our Kingdome, both within the Province of Canterbury and York, in all points wherein they doe or may concern every or any of them according to this our Will and Pleasure hereby signified and expressed. No other Power required to confirm these Canons, or to impose them on the People but the Kings alone. And yet I know there are not a few particulars, in which those Canons doe extend to the proprietie and persons of such Refusers as are concerned in the same; which our Author may soon finde in them if



if he list to look. And having so done, let him give us the like Precedent for his Houses of Parliament (either abstractedly in themselves, or in cooperation with the King) in confirming Canons; and we shall gladly quit the cause, and willingly submit to his \*ter judgement.

But if it be objected, as perhaps it may, That the Subsidies granted by the Clergy in the Convocation, are ratified and confirmed by Act of Parliament, before they can be levied either on the Granters themselves, or the rest of the Clergy.

I answer, that this makes nothing to our Authors purpose, that is to say, that *the person or property of Refusers should not be subjected to temporal penalty, without consent of Parliament.* For first, before the submission of the Clergy to King Henry the 8. they granted Subsidies and other aids unto the King in their Convocations, and levied them upon the persons concerned therein, by no other way than the usual Censures of the Church, especially by Suspension and deprivation, if any Refuser prove so refractory as to dispute the payment of the sum imposed. And by this way they gave and levied that great sum of an Hundred thousand pounds in the Province of *Causterbury* onely; by which they bought their peace of the said King Henry, at such time as he had caused them to be arraigned in the *Præmunire*. And secondly, there is a like Precedent for it since the said Submission. For whereas the Clergy in their Convocation in the year 1585. being the 27 year of Queen Elizabeth, had given that Queen a Subsidy of four shillings in the pound, confirmed by Act of Parliament in the usual way; they gave her at the same time (finding their former gift too short for her present occasions) a *Benevolence* of two shillings in the pound to be raised upon all the Clergy, by virtue of their own Synodical Act onely, under the penalty of such Ecclesiastical Censures as before were mentioned. Which precedent was after followed by the Clergy in their Convocation, An. 1640. the Instrument of the Grant being the same *verbatim* with that before; though so it hapned (such influence have the times on the Actions of men) that they were quarrell'd and condemned for it by the following Parliament in the time of the King, and not so much as checkt at, or thought to have gone beyond their bounds in the time of the Queen. And for the ratifying of their Bill by Act of Parliament, it came up first at such times (after the Submission before mentioned) as the Kings of *England* being in distrust of their Clergy, did not think fit to impower them by their Letters Patents for the making of any Synodical Acts, Canons or Constitutions whatsoever, by which their Subsidies have been levied in former times, but put them off to be confirmed and made Obligatory by Act of Parliament. Which being afterwards found to be the more expedite way, and not considered as derogatory to the Churches Rights, was followed in succeeding times without doubt or scruple; the Church proceeding in all other Cases by her native power, even in Cases where both the person and property of the Subject were alike concerned, as by the Canons 1603, 1640, and many of those past in Queen Elizabeths time (though not so easie to be seen) do that full appear. Which said, we may have leisure to consider of another passage relating not unto the Power of the Church, but the wealth of the Churchmen. Of which thus our Author.

\* I believe this should be better, as may appear in the *Errata*. But because the page is mistaken, 121, for 101, I dare not alter it.

Fuller.

I conceived it Civil to suffer the Animadvertor (to use his own phrase) *parler le tout, to speak all out* in this long Discourse; which, although it consisteth of several Notes, yet because all treat of the same subject, and because a *Relative strength* might relate thereby to the whole, I have presented it intire: Yet when all is said, I finde very little I have learnt thereby, and less (if any thing) which I am to alter.

These my two preparatory Rules (as the Animadvertor terms them) I have formerly *Har'd*; and proved; and here intend no repetition.

It is no *Beams*, and but a *Moss-fault* at most, if I have dated the submission of the Clergy to the King; not from the first private performance, but the passing there-

of

of into Print and publique cognisance. Thus the Age of Children are by their Parents reckoned from their *birth*, but by others from their *entrance in the Register*.

But the main fault (and that a foul one, if true) layed to my charge is, for *weakening the Authority of Church, and subjecting it to the power of Parliaments*. But know it is past the might and might of the most malicious man finally to weaken the just Authority of the Church, God having solemnly promised *That the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it*. Yet Princes (as King Henry the eighth did) might reverence the Power of the Church (or ambitious Church-men rather) when they invaded the just priviledges of others.

I shall onely return a few plain and general answers to what is objected. First, before I entred on the difficult Subject of Synods and Convocations (before and since the Clergies Submission) with their respective powers, I placed, as followeth,  
*Church-History, Book 1. pag. 191.*

*This I humbly conceive to be the difference betwixt the three kindes of Convocations, submitting what I have written, to the censure and correction of the learned in the Law, conscious of my own ignorance therein, as indeed such skill neither is to be expected or required in one of my profession, who am ready with willingnesse, yea with chearfulnesse, yea with thankfulness to God and man publickly to recall and retract what any such convince me to have mistaken herein; hoping that my stumbling in so dark a subject, may prevent the failing of others.*

Having thus humbly desired (I say not *deserved*) favour, I hope it will be indulged unto me.

Secondly, I presume to tender this (I hope reasonable) motion to the Reader, that seeing the Animadvertor not onely freely confesserth this Subject to be an intricate Labyrinth, but also fairly acknowledgeth, *that he findeth the Positions I maintain in SOME OTHER AUTHORS*, that I may be discharged, and that the guilt (if any) may be derived on such Authors as have misguided me.

Thirdly, When I use the word *Parliament*, it expoundeth it self what was meant thereby (capable in that age of no other comment) viz. *The aggregation of the King, Lords, and Commons*.

Fourthly, I distinguish betwixt a *consultive*, *conclusive*, and *punitive* power in matters of Religion. The *consultive* power God hath intrusted his Church with, and the Clergy as the Representative thereof. The *conclusive* power also is invested in them, so far forth as to declare what is *Orthodox*, and what *Heretical*. But the *punitive* power (especially when exceeding Church Censors) and extending to Life, Limb, and Estate, is in the *Parliament*; that so neither *Royal Prerogative* nor *Subjects Rights* may be injured.

Fifthly, I distinguish betwixt the power which the Convocation had over the Clergy, and what they have over the Laity. Over the Estates of the latter, they have no power.

As for the Clergy, they are all represented, by their voluntary elections, in their Clerks or Proctors: *Volenti non fit injuria*, A man that is willing is not wronged. What summes therefore they give away of the Clergy, they may be presumed impowred therein, with the consent of the Clergy. However, to clear all doubts, the consent of Parliament hath [since the Submission of the Clergy] been required unto it.

As for the black Swan in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, I mean that single and signal instance of the *Unparliament-impowred-Convocation*, which gave that *supplemental Subsidie* to Queen Elizabeth; I humbly conceive that the popularity of so peerlesse a Princess, the necessity of her occasions, and the tranquillity of those times (a happiness denied in our Age) made that unquestioned, which might be questionable if any turbulent Clergy-man had proved recusant in payment.

As to the Convocation 1640. let me request the Reader, that I may without danger humbly tender my opinion therein. That Convocation (as all others) consisted of Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, and Clerks. Of these, the three former acted onely in their personal capacities, and carrying their own Purse in their own pockets, might give Subsidies to the King to what proportion they pleased; and justify the doing thereof.

Not



Not so the fourth and last Members, being *Clerks* chosen for their respective *Cathedrals* and *Diocesses*, legally to sit as long as the Parliament lasted. After the dissolution whereof they desisted to be *publique Persons*, lost the notion of *Representatives*, and returned to their private condition. In which capacity they might have given for themselves what sums they pleased, but could not vote away the estates of other *Clergy-men*, except the respective *Cathedrals* and *Diocesses* had re-Elected them; which had it been done, they might no doubt have justified the giving away of Subsidies, as authorized thereunto, though the Parliament had been dissolved, seeing *every man may doe with his owne as he pleaseth*, and the *dissuasive Clergy* were justly interpreted to doe what was done by their Proctors. Truth may be blamed, but cannot be shamed, and I have unboomed my thoughts and judgment herein. But this outswelleth the proportion of my booke, and let me make a faire motion to the Animadvertor. I resume my two former Propositions, (*viz.*)

1 *The proceedings of the Canon Law in what touched temporals of Life, Limb, and Estate, was alwaies limited with the secular Lawes and Nationall Customes of England.*

2 *That the King, by consent of Parliament, directed the proceedings of Ecclesiasticall Courts, against declared Hereticks, so that they could not punish them in Life or Limbe, but as limited by the Statute.*

If the Animadvertor, who hath leisure and abilitie, be pleased in confutation of these my Propositions, to write a few sheets (it being richly worth his and the Readers paines) cleerly, briefly, fully and fairly, without the least dash of ill language, subscribing his name thereunto, I will God willing returne him my answer qualified accordingly; and, though I confesse the Animadvertor hath the advantage of me at the *weapon of Law*, yet my confidence of a good Cause will make mee undertake the Challenge; alwaies provided, That no advantage be taken against us by any for delivering our Judgements and Consciences in so nice a Controversie: For the present I forbear, because this dispute is *substantive* enough to stand by it self, and too large to bee adjected to this booke.

#### Dr Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 253. *I have heard (saith he) that Queen Elizabeth being informed that Dr. Pilkington Bishop of Durham had given ten thousand pounds in marriage with his Daughter; and being offended that a Prelates daughter should equall a Princeesse in Portion, took away one thousand pounds a year from that Bishoprick, and assigned it for the better maintenance of the Garrison of Barwick.* In telling of which story our Author commits many mistakes, as in most things else. For first to justify the Queens displeasure (if she were displeased) he makes the Bishop richer, and the Portion greater than indeed they were. The ten thousand pounds *Lib 9 fol. 109.* being shrunk to eight; and that eight thousand pound not given to one Daughter (as is here affirmed) but divided equally between two: whereof the one was married to Sir James Harrington, the other unto Dunch of *Berkshire*. Secondly, this could be no cause of the Queens displeasure, and much lesse of the Countries envie; that Bishop having sat in the See of *Durham* above seventeen years. And certainly he must needs have been a very ill Husband if out of such a great Revenue he had not saved five hundred pounds *per annum* to prefer his Children; the income being as great, and the charges of Hospility lesse than they have been since. Thirdly, the Queen did not take away a thousand pound a year from that Bishoprick, as is here affirmed. The Lands were left to it as before, but in regard the Garrison of *Barwick* preserved the Bishops Lands and Tenants from the spoil of the *Scots*; the Queen thought fit, that the Bishops should contribute towards their own defence, imposing on them an annual pension of a thousand pound for the better maintaining of that Garrison. Fourthly, Bishop *Pilkington* was no Doctor, but a Bachelor of Divinity onely; and possibly had not been raised by our Author to an higher title and Degree than the University had given him, but that he was a *Conniver at Non-conformity*, as our Author

telleth us *Lib. 9. fol. 109.* Lastly, I shall here add, that I conceived the Pension above mentioned, not to have been laid upon that See after *Pilkingtons* death, but on his first preferment to it, the *French* having then newly landed some forces in *Scotland*, which put the *Queen* upon a necessity of doubling her Guards and increasing her Garrisons. But whatsoever was the cause of imposing this great yearly payment upon that Bishoprick, certain I am, that it continued, and the money was duly paid into the Exchequer for many years, after the true cause thereof was taken away; the *Queens* displeasure against *Pilkington* ending either with his life or hers, and all the Garrisons and forces upon the Borders being taken away in the beginning of the Reign of *King James*. So true is that old saying, *Quod Christus non capit, fiscus rapit*; never more fully verified than in this particular.

#### Fuller.

I have given in a double account of *Bishop Pilkingtons* Issue and Estate.

1. As fame reported, and as envious Courtiers represented it to *Queen Elizabeth*, that he gave ten thousand with his onely Daughter, *Lib. 5. fol. 253.*

2. As it was in truth, giving but four thousand a piece with Two daughters, *lib. 8. fol. 109.*

The Animadvertor may allow me knowing in his family, my wife being Grand-child to his Eldest Daughter, married to Sir \**Henry Harrington*.

Yet no relation to him, or favour for him as a semi-non conformist, but mere love to the Truth, made me entitle him Doctor, though I confesse *Bishop Godwin* maketh him but Bachelor in Divinity. For Dr. *Caius*, Master of *Gonville Hall*, whilest *Pilkington* was of *St. Johns* in *Cambridge*, giveth him the stile of \**Doctor*, who must be presumed most exact in the Titles of his own Contemporary.

The difference is not great, betwixt taking away 1000 l. yearly from the Bishoprick, and charging it with an annual Pension of 1000 l. to maintain the Garrison of *Barnwick*. However if the Reader can gain any information from what is additory in the Animadvertor, I shall be light glad thereof.

\* So is his name in my corrected Books.

\* In his List of the Masters of *St. Johns*.

THE





## THE SIXTH BOOK.

*Containing the History of Abbeys.*

Dr. Heylin.

**T**His Book, containing the History of Abbeys seems but a Supplement to the former, but being made a distinct book by our Author, we must doe so likewise. In which the first thing capable of an Animadversion, is but merely verbal, viz.

Fol. 266. Cistercians so called from one Robert living in Cistercium in Burgundy. The place in Burgundy from whence these Monks took denomination, though call'd Cistercium by the Latins, is better known to the French and English by the name Cisteaux; the Monks thereof, the Monks of Cisteaux by the English, and Lesmoines de Cisteaux by the French; and yet our Author hath hit it better in his Cistercians, than Ralph Brook York Herald did in his Sister-senses, for which sufficiently derided by Augustin Vincent, as our Author, being so well studied in Heraldry, cannot chuse but know.

Fuller.

It was equally in my power and pleasure (without the least prejudice to the Truth) whether I would render the place in the French [Cisteaux,] or retain the Latine name Cistercium. I preferred the latter because our English word Cistercians hath most conformity therewith.

What is R. Brooke his Sister-senses, Brother-senses, or Non-senses to me? This spends time in writing, money in buying, pains in reading, makes some more angry, none more knowing.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 268. But be he who he himself for any other pleaseth, brother if they will to St. George on Horseback. Our Author not satisfying himself in that Equivocus, who is supposed to be the first Founder of Monks in England, makes him in scorn to be the Brother of St. George on Horse back; that is to say, a meer Chimera, a Legendary Saint, a thing of nothing. The Knights of that most noble Order are beholding to him for putting their Patron in the same Rank with St. Equivocus; of whose existence on the Earth he can finde no Constat.

Fuller.

I honour the Knights of that noble Order, as much as the Animadvertor himself. Their Ribbands though (now wearing out apace) seem in my eyes as fair and fresh as when first put on. I doe not deny, but much doubt of St. George; as he is presented with his improbable Attchouements; Yet grant the whole History, onely Emblematical, and Allegorical of Christ, rescuing his Church from the might and malice of Satan, no Diminution of Honour at all is thereby to the Fellows of that noble Order.

Dr. Heylin.

Dr. Heylin.

But I would have him know, how poorly soever he thinks of St. George on Horseback, that there hath more been said of him, his Noble birth, Atchievements, with his death and Martyrdom, than all the Friends our Author hath, will or can justly say in defence of our present History.

Fuller.

The Animadvertor might have done well, to instanced in that Author which hath been the *Champion* for this *Champion*, and hath so substantially asserted him. If in this passage he reflecteth on his own Book on that Subject, he hath lookt so long on St. George, he hath forgot Solomon: *Let another praise thee, and not thy own mouth; a stranger, and not thine own lips.* For my part I am yet to seek what service he hath done to the Church of God, so busie to make *DOWN SABBATH*, and *UP St. GEORGE*.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 270 — *So they deserve some commendation for their Orthodox Judgement in maintaining some Controversies in Divinity of importance against the Jesuites.* Our Author speaks this of the Dominicans or preaching Fryers, who though they be the sole active managers of the *Inquisition*, deserve notwithstanding to be commended for their *Orthodox judgement*. How so? Because forsooth in some *Controversies of importance*, that is to say, *Predestination, Grace, Free-will*, and the rest of that kind, they hold the same opinions against the *Jesuites* and *Franciscans*, as the *Rigid Lutherans* doe against the *Melanchthonians*, and the *Rigid* or peremptory *Calvinists* against the *Remonstrants*. &c.

Fuller.

Two things are considerable in the Dominicans, First their Cruelty in managing the *Inquisition*, which all must justly condemn. And I doubt not, but God, when he maketh *Inquisition for blood*, will remember the bloody *Inquisition*.

Secondly, their *Orthodoxnesse* in many points, here reckoned up by the Animadvertor, which in the Judgement of many pious and learned Divines, deserve just commendation. And if the Animadvertor dissent from them herein, sure I am, He will close with them in another controversy against the *Franciscans*, in maintaining that the *Virgin Mary was conceived in sin*. For although all generations shall call her *BLESSED*, yet it followeth not thence, that shee was without sin, Seeing *BLESSED is he to whom God imputeth no sin*. In a word the Dominicans are the least erroneous of all the Monks and Friars.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 300. *We will conclude with their observation (as an ominous presage of Abbies ruine) that there was scarce a great Abbey in England, which once at least, was not burnt down with lightning from Heaven.* Our Author may be as well out in this, as he hath been in many things else; it being an ordinary thing to ascribe that to Lightning or fire from Heaven, which happened by the malice or carelesnesse of Knaves on Earth, of which I shall speak more hereafter, on occasion of the firing of St. Pauls Steeple in London, lib. 9.

Fuller.

If your Author be out, he told you who were out with your Author, yet, who led him out; viz. the following Authors being all of them authentically, and of the Romish persuasion, cited in the margin.

- |  |                           |
|--|---------------------------|
| 1. <i>Historia Gervasii.</i>               | 5. <i>Malsburg</i>        |
| 2. <i>Historia Ingulphi.</i>               | 6. <i>Hoveden.</i>        |
| 3. <i>Cronicon Petroburg.</i>              | 7. <i>Walter Coventr.</i> |
| 4. <i>Cronicon S<sup>ti</sup> Edmundi.</i> | 8. <i>Fabian.</i>         |

These



These may be presumed utterly unlikely to be libell'd ~~heaven~~ for the Actions of Earth, or to entitle that an accident of Lightning, which was voluntary from knavish incendiaries.

Dr. Heylin.

Now only noting by the way, that *scarce any*, and but *thirteen* (for our Author names no more which were so consumed) hang not well together. If only *thirteen* were so burnt (and sure our Author would have nam'd them if they had been more) he should have rather chang'd his style, and said that of so many Religious Houses as suffered by the decayes of time and the fury of the Danish Wars, or the rage of accidental fires, *scarce any* of them had been stricken by the hand of Heaven.

Fuller.

He might as well have said, that the *Husbandmen*, who only sheweth a *Sample*, hath no more *corn* in his *Barn*. Or the *Draper* who presenteth but a *Patern*, hath no more *cloth* in his *Shop*.

I was unwilling to burthen my book with the enumeration of them all, and the Reader may take notice of the *thirteen* named, nine were Mitred Abbies, each *eminently* worth many meaner Monasteries, whose names follow.

1. Canterbury.

4. St. Maries, York.

7. Cicester.

2. Crayland.

5. Edmondsbury.

8. Glassenbury.

3. Peterborough.

6. Gloucester.

9. Evesham.

If it were worth the while, I could add many more; mean time, it is enough to say, Mr. Fox is the Author wherein this is to be found.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 313. *Hence presently arose the Northern Rebellion, wherein all the open undertakers were North of Trent, &c.* [Not all the open undertakers, I am sure of that, our Author telling us in the words next following, that this commotion began first in Lincolnshire; no part whereof, except the River-Isle of Axholm, lies beyond the Trent, &c.]

Fuller.

Almost all Lincolnshire lyeth North (though not of the fall) of the foundation of Trent. However, these words *North of Trent* shall be altered into, *in the North of England*.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 316. *Where there be many people, there will be many Offenders, there being a Cham amongst the eight in the Ark, yea a Cain amongst the four Primitive Persons in the beginning of the world.* [In this, our Authors rule is better than his Exemplification. For though there were but eight persons in the Ark. whereof Cham was one, yet in all probability there were more than four persons in the world at the birth of Abel, reckoning him for one. &c.]

Fuller.

I passe not whether there were, or were not; I build nothing of consequence thereon, and the matter being no more, I may take it by content without telling it, on the reputation of the generall Opinion.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 340. *It was in those dayes conceived highly injurious, to thrust Monks and Nuns out of House and Home, without assigning them any allowance*

T t

lowance

*lowance for their subsistence.] Our Author says very well in this, there being few Religious persons thrust out of their Houses, (except those that suffered by the first act of dissolution) who either were not prefer'd in the Church, (as <sup>Mr</sup> Wilem the last Abbot of Tewkesbury, was by the King made the first Bishop of Gloucester) or otherwise provided of some liberal pension, &c.*

*Fuller.*

The Animadvertor going along with me in this *long* Note, needeth no answer of mine. Hereupon he taketh occasion to shew how injuriously many sequestred Clergy-men are dealt with in their *fifth* part, that instead thereof but a *nineteenth* part is but paid in some places; and I am sorry I must concur with him in *so* sad a Truth.

But whereas, after his too just complaint, he concludeth with this passage:

*Our Author might have saved me the greatest part of this Application, had he been minded to doe the poor Clergy any right, as he seldome doeth.*

Let me add, The Animadvertor might have saved me all the pains of this Answer, had he not been minded causlessly to cavil, as he often doth. For when I handled the Subject of the *fifth* part, first I got the Order for it, (hard to come by) to be inserted. Secondly, I solemnly answered *seven* subterfuges, pretended by such as either wholly refuse, or defectively pay the *fifth* part to the sequestred Minister, and then thus conclude.

— Church-Hist. Book II. pag. 230: *WILKINS*

*I am sorry to see the pitifull and pious intentions of the Parliamēt so abused and deluded by the indirect dealings of others, so that they cannot attain their intended ends, for the relief of so many poor people, seeing no doubt, therein they desired to be like the best of Kings, who as closely applieth his lenitive as corrosive plaisters, and that his Mercy may take as true effect as his Justice. Sure if the present Authority (when at leisure from higher employment) shall be pleased to take the groans of these poor souls into its consideration, the voice of their hungry Bowels will quickly be turned to a more pleasant tone, from barking for food, to the blessing of those who procured it. Now let any censure this a digression from my History; for though my Estate will not suffer me with <sup>Job</sup> to be eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame, I will endeavour what I can to be a tongue for the Dumb.*

\* Job. 29. 15.

Let the Reader judge betwixt me and the Animadvertor, whether in this particular matter controverted, I have not done the poor Clergy as much right, as lay in my power, and more than consisted with my safety.

*Dr. Heylin.*

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 357. *But this was done without any great cost to the Crown, onely by altering the Property of the place from a late made Cathedral to an Abbey.] Our Author speaks this of the Church of Westminster; which though it suffered many changes, yet had it no such change as our Author speaks of; that is to say, from a Cathedral to an Abbey, without any other alteration which came in between. &c.*

*Fuller.*

I said not, that it was immediatly changed from a Cathedral to an Abbey; but that it was changed, and that without any great cost to the Crown; so my words want nothing but a candid Reader of them.

*Dr. Heylin.*

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 359. *Now can I finde in the first year of Queen Elizabeth any particular Statute wherein (as in the reign of King Henry the eight) these Orders are nominatim suppressed, &c.] But first, the severall Orders of Religious Persons*



Persons were not *suppressed nominatim*, except that of St. Johns, by a Statute in the time of King Henry the eighth. Secondly, if there were no such Statute, yet was it not because those Houses had no legal settlement, as it after followeth; Queen Mary being vested with a power of granting *Mortmains*, and consequently of founding these Religious Houses in a legal way. Thirdly, there might be such a Statute, though our Author never had the good luck to see it; and yet for want of such good luck, I finde him apt enough to think there was no such Statute; *Et quod non invenit usquam, esse putat nusquam*, in the Poets language &c.

Fuller.

I could not then finde the Statute, and I am not ashamed to confesse it. Let those be censured who pretend to have found what they have nor, and so by their confidence (or impudence rather) abuse Posterity. Since, I have found a Copy thereof in Sr. Thomas Cottons Library, with many Commissions granted thereupon, for the dissolution of such Marian foundations.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 369. *Jesuits, the last and newest of all Orders.*] The newest if the last, there's doubt of that: But the last they were not, the Oratorians (as they call them) being of a later brood. The *Jesuites*, founded by Ignatius Loyola, a Spaniard, and confirmed by Pope Paul the third, Anno 1540. The *Oratorians* founded by Philip Merio a Florentine, and confirmed by Pope Pius the fourth, Anno 1564. By which accompt these Oratorians are younger Brethren to the *Jesuits*, by the space of four and twenty years; and consequently the *Jesuites* not the last and newest of Religious Orders.

Fuller.

Writing the *Church-History of Britain*, I herein confined my expression thereunto. The *Jesuites* are the last and newest Order, whose over-activity in our Land commends (or condemns them rather) to publick notice.

*Idem est non esse, & non apparere.* The Oratorians never appeared in England, save an handfull of them, who (at Queen Marias first arrival from France) onely came Hither, to goe hence a few moneths after.

---

THE

---







## THE SEVENTH BOOK.

*Containing the Reign of King Edward the sixth.*

Dr. Heylin.

**W**E are now come unto the Reign of *King Edward the sixth*, which our Author passeth lightly over, though very full of action and great alterations. And here the first thing which I meet with, is an unnecessary *Quare* which he makes about the *Injunctions* of this King. Amongst which we finde one concerning the religious keeping of the *Holy-dayes*, in the close whereof it is declared, "That it shall be lawfull for all people in time of Harvest, to labour upon Holy and Festival dayes, and save that thing which God hath sent, and that scrupulosity to abstain from working on those dayes doth grievously offend God. Our Author hereupon makes this *Quare*, that is to say, fol. 375. *Whether in the 24 Injunction, labouring in time of Harvest upon Holy-dayes and Festivals, relateth not onely to those of Ecclesiastical Constitution (as dedicated to Saints) or be inclusive of the Lords-day also.*"] Were not our Author a great *Zelot* for the *Lords-day-Sabbath*, and studious to initle it to some antiquity, we had not met with such a *Quare*. The Law and practise of those times make this plain enough. &c.

Fuller.

It is better to be *over doubtsfull*, than *over confident*. It had been much for the credit, and nothing against the *Conscience* of the *Animadvertor*, if he had made *queries*, where he so positively and falsly hath concluded against me. Now my *Quare* is answered: And I believe that the *Lords Day* was included within the number of *holy dayes*, and *common work* permitted thereon.

This maketh me bespeak *my own* and the *Readers* (justly suspecting that the *Animadvertor* will not joyn with us herein on this account) thankfulness to God. That the *Reformation* since the time of *King Edward the sixth*, hath been *progressive*, and more perfected in this point amongst the Rest, in securing the *Lords-day* from servile imployments.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 386. *In the first year of King Edward the sixth, it was recommended to the care of the most grave Bishops and others (assembled by the King at his Castle at Windsor) and when by them compleated, set forth in Print 1548. with a Proclamation in the Kings name, to give Authority thereunto, being also recommended unto every Bishop by especial Letters from the Lords of the Council to see the same put in execution. And in the next year a penalty was imposed by Act of Parliament on such who should deprave or neglect the use thereof.*"] Our Author here mistakes himself, and confounds the businesse; making no difference between the whole first *Liturgy* of *King Edward the sixth*, and a particular form of Administration. &c.

Fuller.

If the Reader, by perusing this Note of the *Animadvertor*, can *methodize* the Confusion charged on me, I shall be right glad thereof. And I wish that the nice distinction of the *Liturgy*, and the form of *Administration* may be *informative* unto him, more than it is to me.

The close of this *Animadversion*, whether this Book brought under a Review, much altered in all the parts and offices of it, be unto the better or unto the worse, Leaves it under a strong suspicion of the negative in the Judgement of the *Animadvertor*.

And now I shall wonder no more at the *Animadvertors* falling foul on my

\* In his Introduction.

Numb. 14. 4.

Book, who (as he \* confesseth) am not *known unto him by any injurie*. Seeing such distance in our judgements, that he conceiveth the Reformation in the Reign of King Edward more perfect than what was afterwards, *Let us make us a Captain and return unto Egypt*. I have too much advantage in my own hand, and a principle in my bosome will not give me leave to make use thereof to the utmost.

#### Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 404. *At last the great Earl of Warwick deserted his Chaplain in open field to shift for himself. Indeed he had higher things in his head, than to attend such trifles.* A man may easily discern a Cat by her Claw, and we may finde as easily by the scratches of our Authors Pen, to what party in the Church he stands most inclined. He had before declared for the Dominicans and Rigid Calvinists in some points of Doctrine, and now declares himself for the Non-Conformists in point of Ceremonie. He had not else called the Episcopal Ornaments, particularly the *Roches*, *Chimere*, and *Square-cap*, by the name of trifles; such trifles as were not worth the contending for, if Resolute Ridley had been pleased to dispense therein. &c.

#### Fuller.

I say not that they were trifles, but that John Dudley Earl of Warwick (afterwards Duke of Northumberland) counted them so, in respect to his high designs to the Crown: yea it is more than suspicious, that his ambition esteemed greater matters than Ceremonies, *meer trifles*, even Religion it self, which he so often changed.

If the Cat hath put in her claw, let her put in her whole foot. I conceive such vestments comparatively trifles, as to things necessary to salvation. And thus I prove it.

I dare wager with the Animadvertor, That take the Clergy of England, as constituted 1640, that three parts of four did not know what a CHIMERE was. Nor is this any diminution to their Learning and Religion; seeing they were not bound to take cognisance thereof. And therefore I beleeve one may safely call it a trifle, without the knowledge of which word, and what was meant thereby, so many flocks of pious and learned Shepherds have gone to Heaven.

As for the Animadvertors additory Note which followeth, concerning the singing of Psalms in Churches, I am not concerned therein.

Nor will I here insert his Instances of some fortunate Subjects, who married Queens, seeing I say not *alwaies*, but *often*, such matches prove unprosperous.

#### Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 421. *This barren Convocation is intituled the Parent of those Articles of Religion (fourty two in number) which are printed with this Preface, Articuli de quibus in Synodo Londinensi, &c.* Our Author here is guilty of a greater crime, than that of *Scandalum Magnatum*, making King Edward the sixth of pious memory, no better than an impious and leud Impostor. For if the Convocation of this year were barren (as he saith it was) it could neither be the Parent of those Articles, nor of the short Catechism which was printed with them, countenanced by the Kings Letters Patents prefixt before it, &c.

#### Fuller.

Here is an high charge indeed. I believe that I am generally believed to have as high a reverence for the Memory of King Edward as the Animadvertor himself.

The Journals of the Convocation in this Kings Reign I have carefully perused, which are no better than *blanck paper*, containing onely the names of the Members therein daily meeting, without any matter of moment (yea any matter at all) Registered to be performed by them. But I wholly refer my self to what I have written in my Church-History of this hard Subject, making it there as plain as I could, which the Animadvertor hath a mind again to involve and perplex.

THE



## THE EIGHTH BOOK.

*The Reign of Queen Mary.*

Dr. Heylin.

**W**E next proceed unto the short, but troublesome Reign of *Queen Mary*; in which the first thing that occurs, is, Fol. 1. *But the Commons of England who for many years together had conn'd Loyalty by-hears, out of the Statute of the succession, were so perfect in their Lesson, that they would not be put out of it by this new started design* ] In which I am to note these things; first that he makes the Loyalty of the Commons of England not to depend upon the primogeniture of their Princes, but on the Statute of Succession, and then the object of that Loyalty must not be the King, but the A<sup>d</sup> of Parliament, by which they were directed to the knowledge of the next successor: and then it must needs be in the power of Parliaments to dispose of the Kingdom as they pleas'd; the Peoples Loyalty being tyed to such dispositions. &c.

Fuller.

I make not the loyalty of the Commons to depend on, but to be directed by the Statute of Succession.

In such Intricacies, it was good to have such a Guide to lead mens Judgements in the right. And though some male-contentis started from their Loyalty, the Generality of the Commons of England kept constant unto it.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 11. *Afterwards Philpot was troubled by Gardiner for his words spoken in the Convocation. In vain did he plead the priviledge of the place, commonly reputed a part of Parliament.* ] I cannot finde that the Convocation at this time, nor many yeares before this time, was commonly reputed as a part of the Parliament. &c.

Fuller.

I onely say that Mr. Philpot pleaded it, (and that in vaine) that it was so reputed, as may plainly appear in Mr. Fox; so that my words are liable to no just exception.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 27. *The Letany, Surplice, and other Ceremonies in Service and Sacraments they omitted, both as superfluous and superstitious.* ] Our Author speaks this of the Schismaticall Congregation at Franckford, who turn'd the Publique Church Liturgy quite out of their Church, fashioning to themselves a new forme of Worship, which had no warrant and foundation by the Lawes of this Reaim. And first (saith he) the Letany, Surplice, and other Ceremonies they omitted both as superfluous and superstitious. Superfluous, and superstitious.

ous, in whose opinion? In that of the Schismatics at *Frankford*, our Authors, or in both alike? Most probable in our Authors, as well as theirs; for otherwise he would have added some note of qualification, &c.

Fuller.

This note might well have been spared, I appeal to such as knew my conformity in the *Colledge Chappel*, Country Parishes, and Cathedral of *Sarum*, to be my *Cumpurgators* in this unjust accusation.

Dr. Heylin.

Thirdly, having laid down an abstract of the form of worship contriv'd by the Schismatics at *Frankford*, he honoureth them with no lower Title than that of Saints; and counts this liberty of deviating from the Rules of the Church for a part of their happiness. For so it followeth, fol. 28. *This*, saith he, *is the Communion of Saints, who never account themselves peaceably possessors of any happiness, untill (if it be in their power) they have also made their fellow-sufferers partakers thereof.* If those be Saints, who separate themselves schismatically from their Mother Church; and if it be a happiness to them to be permitted so to doe; our Author hath all the reason in the world to desire to be admitted into their *Communion*, and be made partaker of that happiness which such Saints enjoy, &c.

Fuller.

If God were not more mercifull unto us, than we are charitable one to another, what would become of us all?

I humbly conceive that these *Exiles*, (though I will not advocate for their carriage in all particulars) had more liberty in modeling their own Church, than such as live in England, under a settled Government, commanded by Authority.

Schismatick in my minde is too harsh for such who fled and suffered for their conscience; However, I conceive a Saints-ship nor inconsistent with such Schismatickness; God graciously, on their general repentance, forgiving them their fault herein.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds, Fol. 39. *Trinity Colledge built by Sir Thomas Pope.* I shall not derogate so much from Sir *Thomas Pope*, as our Author doth from *Trinity Colledge*, naming no Bishop of this House, as he doth of others. He tells us that he liv'd in this University about 17 weeks, and all that time Dr. *Skinner* the Bishop of *Oxford* liv'd theretoo. Dr. *Wright* the Bishop of *Liechfield*, probably was then living also, (for he deceased not till after the beginning of the year 1643.) but he living at that time in his own House of *Ecclesal Castle*. Both of them Members of this Colledge, and therefore worthily deserving to have found some place in our Authors History. And because our Author can finde no learned Writers of this Colledge neither, I will supply him with two others in that kinde also. The first whereof shall be *John Selden*, of the *Inner Temple*, a man of great renown'd Humanitian and Philologer, sometimes a Commoner of this House, and here initiated in those Studies, in which he afterwards attain'd to so high an eminence. The second *William Chillingworth*, an able and acute Divine, and once a Fellow of this Colledge; whose Book intituled, *The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation*, written in defence of Dr. *Potters* Book called *Charity mistaken*, commended by our Author, Lib 3. fol. 115. remains unanswered by the *Jesuites*, notwithstanding all their brags beforehand, to this very day. Which Book though most ridiculously buried with the Author at *Arundel* (get thee gon thou accursed Book &c.) by Mr. *Francis Heynel*, the usu fructuary of the rich Parlonage of *Petworth*, shall still survive unto the world in its own value, when the poore three-penny commodities of such a sorry *Haberdasher* of *Small-wares* shall be out of credite. Of this Pageant, see the Pamphlet call'd *Chillingworthi Novissima*, printed at *London*, Anno 1644.



Fuller.

If the Animavertor had written an History of *Cambridge*, perchance he would have made as many and great *Omissions*. I have craved solem pardon of the Reader when such *failings* should occur.

Church History Book 3. pag. 67.

*I humbly request the Antiquaries of their respective foundations (best skilled in their own worthy Natives) to insert their own observations, which if they would restore unto me against the next Edition of this work, if it be thought worthy thereof; God shall have the Glory, they the publick thanks, and the world the benefis of their contributions to my endeavours.*

*Bishop Wright* is entred in (where he ought) a Warden of *Wadham*; the rest shall be inserted in the next Edition, with my worthy friend Mr. *Gilbert Ironside* of the same foundation.

Mr. *Cheyne* is now rather the object of the Animadvertors prayer and pittie, than of his Anger.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 41. *But now it is gone, let it go; it was but a beggerly Town, and cost England ten times yearly more than it was worth in keeping thereof.* Admir it be so, yet certainly it was worth the keeping, had it cost much more. The *English* while they kept that Town, had a dore open into *France* upon all occasions, and therefore it was commonly said that they carried the *Keyes* of *France* at their *Girdles*. &c.

Fuller.

The Animadvertor might understand my meaning, even to make the best of a bad matter, when it cannot be helped.

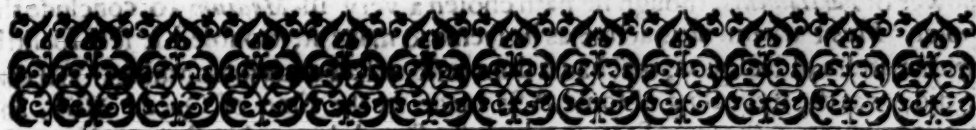
A *KEY* falleth under a double valuation, one for the *intrinsicall* works from the weight thereof in *Metal*, which is very inconsiderable. The other from the use thereof, and thus it's price *riseth* or *falleth*, as it openeth to more or less treasure.

*Calis* I confesse, in the second consideration, was a place of main importance; yet indeed it cost a vast expence in keeping it, as by a Book in the Exchequer (which some moneths since \* I perused) doth appear, the charge amounting to an innumerable Sum, at the rate of Money in that Age.

\* In particulars, their total Sum, to my remembrance, not being cast up.







## THE NINTH BOOK.

*Containing the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.*

Dr. Heylin.

**T**He short Reigns of *King Edward the sixth*, and *Queen Mary* being briefly past over by our Author, he spends the more time in setting out the affairs of the Church under *Queen Elizabeth*; not so much because her Reign was long, but because it was a busie Age, and full of Faction. To which Faction how he stands affected, he is not coy to let us see on all occasions, giving us in the very first entrance this brief, but notable *Essay*, viz.

Fol. 51. *Idolatry is not to be permitted a moment; the first minute is the fittest to abolish it: all that have power, have right to destroy it by that grand Charter of Religion, whereby every one is bound to advance Gods glory. And if Sovereigns forget, no reason but Subjects should remember their duty.* Our Author speaks this in behalf of some forward Spirits, who not enduring the *laziness of Authority* in order to the great work of Reformation, sell before hand to the beating down of *superstitious Pictures and Images*. And though some others condemned their indiscretion herein, yet our Author will not, but rather gives these reasons for their justification; 1. That the Popish Religion is Idolatry. 2. That Idolatry is to be destroyed by all that have power to doe it. 3. (Which is indeed the main) that if the *Sovereigns* do forget, there is no reason but *Subjects* should remember their duty. This being our Authors Master-piece, and a fair ground-work for Seditious and Rebellious for the times ensuing, I shall spend a little the more time in the examination of the propositions, as before we had them, &c.

Fuller.

The Animadverſor hath dealt most unfairly with me in citing *by the halves* what I have written, and leaving out what immediately followed, and what he ought to have inserted, viz.

For after I had presented the Judgement of these rigid and violent Hotspurs, I subjoyned as followeth, in confutation of their Extravagancies:

*But others condemned their indiscretion herein; for though they might reform the private persons and families, and refrain to communicate in any outward Act contrary to Gods word; yet publick reformation belonged to the Magistrate, and a good deed was by them ill done, for want of a calling to doe it.*

I appeal to such who knew me in the Universitie, to those that have heard my many Sermons on this Subject in London, and else where, but especially to my Book called *TRUTH MAINTAINED*, made against Mr. *Salmarsh*, wherein I have heartily, (to place that first) largely, and to my power strongly vindicated. *Non licet Populo remuere Magistratu, Reformationem moliri.*

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 54. *This Parliament being very active in matters of Religion, the Convocation (younger Brother thereunto) was little employed, and less regarded.*

garded.] Our Author follows this Design of putting matters of Religion into the power of *Parliaments*, though he hath chosen a very ill *Medium* to conclude the point. This Parliament as active as he seems to make it, troubled it self so little with matters of Religion, that had it done lesse, it had done just nothing. All that it did, was the Repealing of some Acts made in the time of Queen Mary, and settling matters in the same State in which she found them at her first coming to the Crown. The Common Prayer Book being reviewed and fitted to the use of the Church by some godly men, appointed by the Queen alone, receiv'd no other confirmation in this present Parliament, than what it had before in the last years of King Edward. The Supremacy was again restor'd, as it had been formerly; the Title of Supreme head, which seem'd offensive unto many of both Religions, being changed into that of Supreme Governor, nothing in all this done *de novo*, which could intitle this Parliament to such activity in matters of Religion, but that our Author had a minde to undervalue the *Convocation*, as being *little employ'd, and lesse regarded*. I grant indeed, that the *Convocation* of that year did only meet for forms sake, without acting any thing, &c.

Fuller.

Yea God hath done great things for us already, whereof we rejoyce. And although the Animadvertor is pleased to say, That if this Parliament had done lesse, it had done just nothing, these truly were *MAGNALIA*, so farre as the word is applicable to humane performances.

Dr. Heylin.

In the mean time I would fain know our Authors Reason, why speaking of the *Convocation* and the *Parliament* in the notion of Twins, the *Convocation* must be made the younger Brother. Assuredly there had been *Convocations* in the Church of England some hundreds of years before the name of Parliament had been ever heard of; which he that lists to read the collection of Councils published by that learned and industrious Gentleman Sir Henry Spelman, cannot but perceive.

Fuller.

I confesse *Convocations* in their general notion more ancient, and regular, and completely constituted than *Parliaments*: Yet of these Twins, I called the *Convocation* the younger Brother properly enough.

First, Because modern *Convocations*, as modelled since the submission of the Clergy to Henry the eighth, are many years junior to *Parliaments*.

Secondly, The *Convocations* alwaies began the day after the Parliament, the Archbishops and Bishops alwaies attending the King the first day in Parliament.

Lastly, The *Parliament* hath made a younger Brother of the *Convocation*: And there being a priority in Power, he in effect is the Heir and elder Brother, who confineth the other to a poor pittance and small portion as our Age can well remember.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 71. *This year the spire of Poles-steeple, covered with lead, strangely fell on fire.* More modestly in this than when he formerly ascribes the burning of some great Abbey to Lightning from Heaven. And so this steeple was both reported and believed to be fired also, it being an ordinary thing in our common Almanacks, till these latter times, to count the time (among the other Epoches of Computation) from the year that St. Paul-steeple was fired with Lightning. But afterwards it was acknowledged (as our Author truly notes) to be done by the negligence of a Plummer, carelessly leaving his Coles therein: since which acknowledgement we finde no mention of this accident in our yearly Almanacks. But whereas our Author finds no other Benefactors for the repairing of this great Ruine, but the Queens bounty, and the Clergies benevolence, I must needs



needs tell him that these were onely accessories to the principal charge. The greatest part hereof, or to say better, the whole work was by the Queen imposed on the City of London, it being affirmed by *John Stow*, that *after this mischance the Queens Majesty directed her Letters to the Major, willing him to take order for the speedy repairing of the same, &c.* Stow's Survey of Lond. p. 623.

Fuller.

*Non est tanti* all this Note. The Queen and Clergy are onely mentioned by way of eminence not exclusion of others.

The Animadverſor commonly layeth it to my charge, that in my writing I am injurious to the Church and Clergy; and now he is offended with me for giving them too much honour.

Sure I am, Mr. \*Camden, speaking of the repairing of S. Pauls on this occasion, ascribes it to the great bounty of the Queen, and money gathered of the Churchmen and others, where his particular nomination onely of the Queen and Church-men making them paramount Benefactors. \* In his Eliz. Anno 1561.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 72. *In the Convocation now sitting, the nine and thirty Articles were composed, agreeing for the main with those set forth in the Reign of King Edward the sixth, though in some particulars allowing more liberty to dissenting judgements.* This is the active Convocation which before I spake of, not settling matters of Religion in the same estate in which they were left by King Edward; but altering some Articles, expunging others, adding some *de novo*, and fitting the whole body of them unto edification; Not leaving any liberty to dissenting judgements, as our Author would have it, but binding men unto the literal and Grammatical sense.

Fuller.

But the literal and Grammatical sense is worded in so favourable and receptive terms, that two opposite parties (both well skilled in Grammar) have with great assurance of successe, pleaded them in their defence.

In such Cases, when the Controversie is admittive of a latitude, as not necessary to salvation, the pious and learned Penners of the Articles, though they did not purposely use *Cheverel* expressions (to afford shelter to equivocation;) yet prudently seeing that all things in the Articles were not of equall concernment, and politickly fore-seeing men would be divided and differ in their judgements about them, selected phrases Grammatically admittive of several senses, all consistent with Salvation; and would draw their words no closer, for fear of strangling tender Consciences. Hence is it that in the Question, Whether *Concupiscence* be properly a sin in the Regenerate? both parties appeal unto the Article, equally perswaded there to finde favour in their several Opinions; as indeed (like a well drawn Picture) it seemeth to Eye them both, and yet frown on neither.

And one may read in the works of King James, that on this account he highly commendeth the discretion and moderation of the Composers of our Articles.

Dr. Heylin.

They had not otherwise attained to the end they aimed at, which was *ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem, & consensum in vera Religione firmandum*; that is to say, to take away diversitie of Opinions, and to establish an agreement in the true Religion. Which end could never be effected, if men were left unto the liberty of dissenting, or might have leave to put their own sense upon the Articles. But whereas our instances in the Article of *Christs descent into Hell*, telling us that *Christs preaching unto the Spirits there* (on which the Article seemed to be grounded in King Edwards Book) was left out in this; and thereupon inferreth, that men are left unto a latitude concerning the cause, time, manner of his descent; I must needs say, that he is very much mistaken. For first the Church of England hath

alwaies constantly maintained a *local Descent*, though many which would be thought her Children, the better to comply with *Calvin* and some other Divines of forain Nations, have deviated in this point from the sense of the Church. And secondly, the reason why this Convocation left out that passage of Christ preaching to the spirits in hell; was not, that men might be left unto a latitude concerning the *cause, time, and manner* of his *Descent*, as our Author dreams; but because that passage of *St. Peter* being capable of some other interpretations, was not conceived to be a clear and sufficient evidence to prove the Article. For which see Bishop *Bilsons* Survey, p. 388. 389.

Fuller.

I cannot fully concur with the Animadvertor, That the *Church of England* hath constantly maintained a *LOCAL DESCENT*, though no man hath an higher esteem for those worthy Writers who are of that persuasion.

AS 12. 27. I will confess this hitherto hath staggered me, viz. *St. Peter* his application of *Dauids* words to Christ, *thou shalt not leave my soul in hel.*

I appeal whether these words import not a favour to all unprejudiced hearers, which God did to his Son, bearing this natural and unviolated sense, *That had God left Christs soul in hell, his soul had been in a bad condition, as being there in a suffering capacity, but Gods Paternal affection to his dear Son, would not leave his soul in hell, but did rescue it thence.*

Now all our Protestant, and especially English Writers, who maintain a *LOCAL DESCENT*, doe very worthily (in opposition to the *Romish Error*) defend, that Christ was then in a good estate, yea in a *triumphing* condition.

Now then, it had been no favour not to leave his soul in *Hell*, but a less love unto him, to contract his happiness in his triumph.

I protest, that in this or any other point, I am not possess'd with a spirit of opposition; and when I am herein satisfied in any good degree, I shall become the Animadvertors thankful Convert in this particular.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 74. *In a word, concerning this clause whether the Bishops were faulty in their addition, or their opposites in their subtraction, I leave to more cunning Arithmeticians to decide.* ] The Clause here spoken of by our Author, is the first Sentence in the *twentieth Article*, entituled *De Ecclesie Auctoritate*, where it is said that the *Church* hath power to decree *Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of the Faith, &c.*

Fuller.

To this and to what ensueth in two leaves following I return no answer; not because I am pinched therein with any matter of moment, but for these reasons following.

First, I understand, That the Animadvertors Stationer taketh exception, that I have printed all his book, which may tend to his detriment. Now I protest, when I first took up this resolution to present the Animadvertors whole *Cloth, Liff, Fagg* and all, I aimed not at his damage, but my own defence: nor can I see how I could doe otherwise, seeing the plaister must be as broad as the *fore*, the tent as deep as the wound; yea, I have been informed by prime Stationers, the like hath formerly been done without exception taken on either side, in the Replies and Rejoynders betwixt *Dr. Whitgift* and *Mr. Cartwright*, and many others. However, being willing to avoid all appearance of injury, I have left out some observations which I conceived might well be spared, as containing no pungent matter against me.

Secondly, I am confident, That there needs no other answer to these notes, then the distinct and serious perusal of my *Church History*, with the due alteration of favour indulged to all writings.

Lastly, What of moment in these notes is omitted by me, relateth to those

two



two Church Questions in Law, which I have formerly desired may fairly be ventilated betwixt the Animadvertor and me : and if he be sensible, That any thing herein tendeth to his advantage, he may, and no doubt will re-assume and enforce the same. *Vid. sup. part. 2. p. 62.*

Dr. Heylin.

From the Articles our Author proceeds unto the Homilies approved in those Articles, and of them he tels us, Fol. 75. *That if they did little good, they did little harm.*] With scorn and insolence enough. Those Homilies were so composed, as to instruct the people in all positive Doctrines necessary for Christian men to know, with reference both to Faith and Manners; and being penned in a plain style, as our Author hath it, were fitter for the edification of the common people, than either the strong lines of some, or the flashes of vain wit in others, in these latter times, &c.

Fuller.

With scorn and insolence I defie the words. The Animadvertor might have added my words immediately following, *viz. They preached not strange Doctrines to People, as too many vent, DARKNESSES now a dayes*, intituled New Lights.

And well had it been for the peace and happiness of the Church, if the Animadvertor (and all of his Party) had had as high an esteem as the Author hath, for the Homilies, If none of them had called them *HOMELY HOMILIES*, (as one did,) And if they had conformed their practise to the second Homilie in the second Book, and not appeared so forward in countenancing Images of God and his Saints in Churches.

Dr. Heylin.

The Author proceeds. Fol. 76. *The English Bishops conceiving themselves empowered by their Canons, began to shew their authority, in urging the Clergy of their Diocess to subscribe to the Liturgy, Ceremonies and Discipline of the Church, and such as refused the same, were branded with the odious name of Puritans.*] Our Author having given the Parliament a power of confirming no Canons, as before was shewed, he brings the Bishops acting by as weak Authority in the years 1563. & 1564. there being at that time no Canons for them to proceed upon for requiring their Clergy to *subscribe to the Liturgies, Ceremonies, and Discipline of the Church*: And therefore if they did any such thing, it was not as they were *empowered by their Canons*, but as they were inabled by that Authority which was inherent naturally in their Episcopal Office.

Fuller.

I profess my self not to understand the sense of the Animadvertor, and what he driveth at herein. And as soon as I shall understand him, I will either fully concur with him, or fairly dissent from him, rendring my reason for the same.

Dr. Heylin.

But whereas he tels us in the following words, that the name of *Puritan* in that *notion* began this year, *viz. 1564*. I fear he hath anticipated the time a little, *Genebrard* a right good *Chronologer* placing it (*ortus in Anglia Puritanos*) about two years after, *Anno 1566, &c.*

Fuller.

I answer, First, Let the Animadvertor keep his fears *for me* to himself, and not be solicitous in my behalf.

Secondly, If the time be anticipated but a little, these necessary Animadversions needed not to take notice thereof.

Thirdly, *Genebrard*s placing the beginning of the Name *Puritan*, about two years after, intimates a latitude in his Computation.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, *Genebrard Anno 1566.* calleth them *ortos* [but not *orientes*] in *Anglia Puritanos* : And when I speak of the beginning of the name, I relate to it *rising, not risen.*

Fifthly, *Genebrard* is so disaffected to our Religion, he is not to be credited, taking all implicitly out of *rayling Saunders* : Witnesse this eminent Note amongst the rest, *Anno 1570. UNCTI in Surria Comitatu Anglia, è Calvinii Schola oriuntur ; qui docent peccare neminem nisi qui veritatem ab ipsis predicatam non recipit. The ANOINTED Scholars of Calvin did rise this year in Surry, an English County ; who teach, that every man must sin that will not imbrace their Doctrine :* all which is a notorious untruth.

\* *Id. sup.*

*part. 2. pag 61*

Lastly, The Animadvertor cannot justly be angry with me if I antedated the Puritans by two years, seeing he findeth the Lineaments of the \* Puritan Platform in the Reign of King *Henry the eighth*, twenty years at least before my mention of them.

Dr. Heylin.

But why our Author should call the *Bishop of Londons House* by the name of the *Popes Palace*, I doe very much wonder ; unlesse it were to hold conformity with the style of *Martin Mar-Prelate*, and the rest of that Faction. Amongst whom nothing was more common than to call all Bishops *Petty-Popes*, and more particularly to call the Archbishop of *Canterbury* the *Pope of Lambeth*, and the Bishop of *London*, *Pope of London*. But I hope more charitably than so, being more willing to impute it to the fault of the Printers, than the Pen of our Author, &c.

Fuller.

It falls out happily for me that *Grindal* was then Bishop of *London*, one so far from *Popery*, that he is beheld under an opposite notion. I wonder the Animadvertor will lay so much weight on a plain mistake of the Presse.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 98. *Against covetous Conformists it was provided, that no spiritual Person, Colledge, or Hospital, shall let Lease, other than for twenty one years, or three lives, &c.]* No mention in the Statute of Covetous Conformists, I am sure of that ; and therefore no provision to be made against them, the Covetous Conformist is our Authors own, &c.]

Fuller.

I say in the same place, that in this Parliament Laws were enacted against *Poiniards with three Edges. Conformists* they must needs be, who enjoyed so great Church-preferment ; and *Covetous* I may call them, who made so unreasonable Leases. But of this I have largely spoken in my Answer to the Introduction.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 121. *These Prophecyings were founded on the Apostles Precept ; For ye may all Prophecie one by one, that all may learn and all be comforted ; but so as to make it out, they were fain to make use of humane prudential additions.]* Not grounded, but pretended to be grounded on those words of *St. Paul, &c.*

Fuller.

Grounded shall be altered, God willing, into pretended to be grounded, and then I hope no shadow of offence.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 135. *A loud Parliament is alwaies attended with a silent Convocation, as here it came to passe. The Activity of the former in Church matters, left the latter nothing to doe.]* A man would think by this, that the Parliament



ment of this year, being the 23 of the Queen, had done great feats in matters of Religion, as making new Articles of Faith, or confirming Canons, or something else of like importance, &c.

Fuller.

It lyeth not in the Power of Parliament to make new ARTICLES of FAITH, nor did they ever pretend unto it. Nor lyeth it in the Power of the Church to make any new ARTICLES; Canons they may make, for the Discipline; and may declare and publish Articles of Faith. But God alone in Scripture hath made them; to which man, under an heavy curse, may make no Addition.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 187. That since the High-Commission, and this Oath (it is that *ex officio* which he meaneth) were taken away by the Act of Parliament, it is to be hoped, that (if such swearing were so great a grievance) nihil analogum, nothing like unto it (which may amount to as much) shall hereafter be substituted in the room thereof. What could be said more plain to rectifie his disaffections one way, and his zeal another? The High-Commission and the Oath reproached as Grievances, because the greatest cuffs of the Puritan party, and the strongest Bulwarks of the Church, a congratulation to the times for abolishing both, though as yet I finde no Act of Parliament against the Oath, except it be by consequence and illation onely; and finally a hope express that the Church never shall revert to her former power in substituting any like thing in the place thereof, by which the good people of the Land may be stop't in their way to the fifth Monarchy so much sought after. And yet this does not speak so plain as the following passage.

Fuller.

God restore the Church in his good time to her just rights, and give her wisdom moderately to use it.

I am for no 5th Monarchy or 5th Anarchy men: but desire from my heart, that no such analogical Oath may be offered to me; and let the Animadvertor, if desirous thereof, have it to himself, and much good may it doe him.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 193. This will be working, and such as have a Satyrical vein, cannot better vent it than in lashing of sin. This spoken in defence of those scurrilous Libels which Job Trogmorton, Penry, Fenner, and the rest of the Puritan Rabble published in print against the Bishops, Anno 1588. thereby to render them ridiculous both abroad and at home.

Fuller.

I am most disingeniously dealt with by the Animadvertor, obtruding on me such words. In defence, I defend these me words immediately following. "But the worst, vilest and devoutest of men, even of such as were no great friends to the *Witch*, upon solemn debate then resolved (I speak on certain knowledge from the mouths of such as I must believe) that for many foul fall of words therein suggested, altogether unbecoming a pious spirit to print, publish, or with pleasure peruse, which I suppose true both in matter and measure, rather conceal than discover. The best of men being so conscious of their own badness, that they are more carefull to wash their own faces, than busie to throw dirt on others. Any man may be witty in a biring way; and those who have the dullest brains, have commonly the sharpest teeth to that purpose. But such carnal mirth, whilst it tickleth the flesh doth wound the soul. And which was the worst, these bad Books would give a great advantage to the General foe; and Papists would make too much use thereof against Protestant Religion; especially being an *Archangel* thought himself too good to bring, and Satan not so bad enough to have railing speeches brought against him." Jude 9.

Z z

Reader,

Reader, what could I have written more fully and freely in the cordial detestation of such abhominable Libels.

Dr. Heylin.

For if our Authors rule be good, fol. 193. *That the fault is not in the Writer, if he truly cite what is false on the credit of another*, they had no reason to examine punctually the truth of that which tended so apparently to the great advantage of their cause and party, &c.

Fuller.

I say again, the Writer is faultless, *who truly cites what is false on the CREDIT of another*; alwayes provided that the other, who is quoted, hath *Credit*, and be not a *lying Libeller* like these *Pasfals*.

If this Rule be not true, the Animadverſor will have an hard task of it, to make good all in his *Geography on his own knowledge*, who therein hath *traded on trust* as much as another.

Dr. Heylin.

But I am weary and ashamed of raking in so impure a kennel, and for that cause also shall willingly pass over his apology for *Hacket* that blasphemous wretch, and most execrable Miscreant, justly condemned and executed for a double Treason, against the King of Kings in Heaven, and the Queen on earth.

Fuller.

I appeal to the Reader, whether I have not in my *Church History* wrote most bitterly and deservedly against Him; only I took occasion by *Hacket's* badness to raise our thankfulness to God. If my *meas* herein please not the Animadverſors *pallat*, let him leave it in the *Dish*; none shall eat thereof against their own *stomacks*, for fear of a surfeit.

Dr. Heylin.

Of whom he would not have us think, fol. 204. *that he and his two Companions* (his two Prophets, for so they called themselves) *were not worse by nature than all others of the English Nation, the natural corruption in the hearts of others being not less headstrong, but more bridled*: And finally, *that if Gods restraining grace be taken from us, we shall all run unto the same excess of Riot*. Which *Rise*, if it be good for *Hacket*, will hold good for *Judas*; and pity it is, that some of our fine wits did never study an apology for him, &c.

Fuller.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 214. *At Antwerp he was ordained Minister by the Presbytery there, and not long after that, he was put in Orders by the Presbytery of a forain Nation*.] Here have we *Ordination*, and putting into Orders ascribed to the Presbytery of *Antwerp*, a *Mongrel company*, consisting of two *blaw Aprows* to each *Cruel night-cap*: and that too in such positive terms, and without any the least qualification, that no Presbyterian in the pack could have spoke more plainly, &c.

Fuller.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 214. *At Antwerp he was ordained Minister by the Presbytery there, and not long after that, he was put in Orders by the Presbytery of a forain Nation*.] Here have we *Ordination*, and putting into Orders ascribed to the Presbytery of *Antwerp*, a *Mongrel company*, consisting of two *blaw Aprows* to each *Cruel night-cap*: and that too in such positive terms, and without any the least qualification, that no Presbyterian in the pack could have spoke more plainly, &c.

Fuller.

It is better to wear a *Cruel Night-cap* than a *cruel heart*, causelessly cavilling at every man.

Mr. *Travers* was ordained Minister or Priest by the *Presbytery of Antwerp*, and never had other *Ordination*. I only relate that it was so *de facto*, and appeal to the Reader, whether my words import the least countenance and approbation thereof, though the sin had not been so heinous, if I had so done.

Dr. Heylin.



Dr. Heylin.

Only I shall make bold to quit my Author with a merry tale (though but one for an hundred) and 'tis a tale of an old jolly popish Priest, who having no entertainment for a friend, who came to him on a Fasting day, but a piece of Pork, and making conscience of observing the appointed Fast, dipt it into a tub of water, saying *down Pork, up Pike*. Satisfied with which device (as being accustomed to *transubstantiate*, he well might be) he caused it to be put into the pot and made ready for dinner. But as the Pork, for all this suddain piece of wit, was no other than Pork; so these good fellowes of the Presbytery by laying hands upon one another, as little as he. The parties so *impos'd* upon (*impos'd* indeed in the proper notion) are but as they were, Lay-bretheren of the better stamp, Ministers, if you will, but not Priests nor Deacons, nor any wayes Canonically enabled for divine performances.

Fuller.

It is not a fortnight since I heard proclamation against the selling of *Porke*, because about *London* fatted with the flesh of diseased horses.

I suspect some unwholsomness in the Animadvertisers *Pork-story*, especially as applyed, and therefore will not meddle therewith.

Dr. Heylin.

But fearing to be chidden for his levity, I knock off again, following my Author as he leads me; who being *over shoes*, will be *over boots* also. He is so lost to the *High Royalist* and *covetous* Conformist, that he cannot be in a worse case (with them) than he is already.

Fuller.

If I be lost with the *high Royalists* and *covetous Conformists*, I hope I shall be found by the *low Royalists* and *liberal Conformists*: However may God be pleased to *find my soul*, and I pass not with whom *I* be lost.

There are a sort of men who with Dr. *Manmaring* maintain that Kings may impose without Parliaments what taxes they please, and the Subjects bound to payment *under pain of Damnation*, a principle introductory to *tyranny* and *slavery*: These I term *high Royalists*, and I protest my self as to dissent in judgement from them, so not to be at all ambitious of their favour.

Dr. Heylin.

And therefore having declared himself for a Presbyterian in point of Government, he will go thorough with his work, &c.

Fuller.

Where have I declared my self for a Presbyterian in point of Government? who never scattered syllable, (and if I did, I would snatch it up again) to countenance such presumption.

I confess I said, That Mr. *Travers* was made Minister or Priest by the Presbytery at *Antwerp*; that is, made Minister so far forth as they could give, and he receive the Ministerial Character, who never had it otherwise impressed upon him.

Suppose a *disputable power* should dub a Knight: Might not a Historian say such a man was made a Knight by such a power or person, not engaging himself to justify his Authority that made him? And by the same proportion, I relating Mr. *Travers* made Minister at *Antwerp*, am not concerned to justify; nor by my expression doe I any way approve their *Minister-making*, if they have no Commission thereto.

I cannot close with the Animadvertiser in his uncharitable censure of the Ministry of forain Protestant Churches, rendring them utterly invalid, because ordained by no Bishops. *Cain* (as commonly believed) is conceived to have killed a fourth part of mankind by murdering *Abel*; but the Animadvertisers cruelty to Protestants hath exceeded this proportion, in spiritually killing more than a fourth part of Protestants, according to his own principles: For if no Priests in *France*, *Low Countries*, *Switzerland*, &c. then no Sacraments; then no Church; then no Salvation.

Far

Far more Charitie in those of the former Age. Bishop Andrews when he concurred with others of his own order, in ordaining a Scottishman Bishop, who (as by proportion of time may be demonstrated) received his *Deaconship* and *Priesthood* from the Presbytery, conceived such ordination of validity *when done*; though I beleeve in his judgement, not so well approving the doing thereof: Otherwise he would never have contented to make a *meer Lay man, per saltum*, a Bishop.

Dr. Heylin.

First for the Sabbath, (for the better day the better deed) having repeated the chief heads of Dr. *Bownds* Book published Anno 1595. in which the Sabbatharian Doctrines were first set on foot, he adds, that *learned men were much divided in their judgements about the same.*

Fol. 228. *Some (saith he) embrated them as ancient truths consonant to Scripture, long disused and neglected, now seasonably revived for the encrease of piety.* Amongst which some, he that shall take our Author for one, will not be much mistaken either in the man, or in the matter. For that he doth approve *Bownds* Doctrines in this particular, &c.

Fuller.

The Animadvertor impleth on me that which is contrary to my Judgement.

I am not of Dr. *Bownds* Opinion, who straineth the Sabbath too high; yea the Animadvertor when writing against Mr. *Le strange*, maketh use of above twenty lines out of my Book against him.

\* In his Adversifemen's on the History of King Charles, p. 64.

I am of the judgement of moderate men, as I have clearly and largely stated it in my *Church-History*, and will live, and die to dye in the maintenance thereof. And I hope the Animadvertor will allow me to know my own judgement better than he doth.

I am not of the Animadvertors mind, That the Lords day is alterable and of meer Ecclesiastical constitution; much less dare I concur with him in his scandalous expression, *That the late \* Parliament hath by their Orders and Ordinances laid greater restraints on People than ever the Scribes and Pharises did on the Jews.*

To what followeth in the Animadvertor concerning the Articles at *Lambeth*, I return no other answer, save this: As a Historian I have written truly for matter of Fact; And if as a Divine, I have interposed something of my judgement in those points, I beleeve the Animadvertor, if writing on the same subject, would not appear more moderate. Mean time, I am sure he differs as much from me, as I from him in these opinions; and therefore I see no reason of his animosity on this account.

Dr. Heylin.

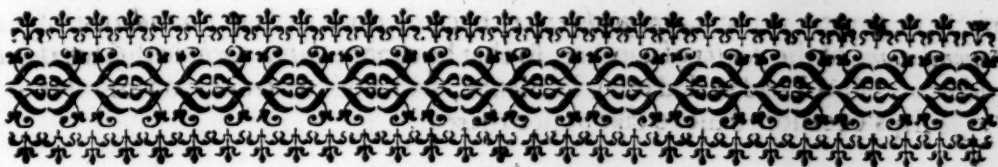
Our Author proceeds. Fol. 179. *Queen Elizabeth coming to the Crown, sent for Abbot Feckenham to come to her, whom the Messenger found sitting of Elms in the Orchard of Westminster Abbey: But he would not follow the messenger, till first he had finished his Plantation.* The tale goes otherwise by Tradition than is here delivered; and well it may. For who did ever hear of any Elms in Westminster Orchard, or to say truth, of any Elms in any Orchard whatsoever of a late Plantation? Elms are for Groves, and Fields, and Forests, not chamber-forn, and over-spreading to be set in Orchards, &c.

Fuller.

When a Traveller on the High-way suddenly returns back again, surely 'tis to fetch some matter of moment, which he hath forgotten and left behind him. The Animadvertor in this his Note, retreats above 50 pages in my *Church-History*, viz. from fol. 133. to fol. 179. And what is this Retrograde motion for? Even to carpeat *Elmes*, which I say were set by Abbot *Feckenham* in the Orchard of the Dean of Westminster, citing my Author *Reynerius* for the same; whose words in *horto*, I translate in the Orchard, as more proper for Elms than a Garden. Thus have you my Tale and my Tales maker. So that this wooden Animadversion might well have been spared.

THE





## THE TENTH BOOK.

*Containing the Reign of King James.*

Dr. Heylin.

**O**Ur Author proceeds. Fol. 5. *Watson with William Clark (another of his own profession) having fancied a notional Treason, imparted it to George Brooks.] To these he after adds the Lord Cobham a Protestant, the Lord Gray of Whaddon a Puritan, and Sir Walter Rawleigh an able Statesman, and some other Knights.*

In the recital of which names our Author hath committed a double fault, the one of omission, and the other of commission. A fault of omission, in leaving out Sir *Griffith Markam*, as much concerned as any of the principal actors, designed to have been *Secretary of Estate*, had the Plot succeeded, and finally arraigned and condemned at *Winchester*, as the others were.

Fuller.

I distinguish betwixt *total Omission*, *express Enumeration*, and *implicit Inclusion*. Sir *Griffith Markam* cannot be said to be *omitted* by me, because included in that clause, *and some other Knights*. Yea this whole treason had not at all found any mention in my History (not being bound to take cognizance thereof) save for the two *Priests*, who were engaged therein.

Dr. Heylin.

His fault of commission is, his calling the *Lord Gray* by the name of the *Lord Gray of Whaddon* (a fault not easily to be pardoned in so great an Herald) whereas indeed though *Whaddon* in *Buckinghamshire* was part of his Estate, yet *Wilton* in *Herefordshire* was his *Barony* and ancient Seat, his Ancestors being call'd *LL. Gray of Wilton*, to difference them from the *Lord Gray of Reuthen*, the *Lord Gray of Codnor*, &c.

Fuller.

A fault not so great neither in an Herald, seeing I call him not *Lord Gray Baron of Whaddon*, but of *Whaddon*; and a noble Person may be *additioned* either from his *Honour* or his *Habitation*. Besides *Wilton* in *Herefordshire*, long since being run into ruin, those *Lords*, some *sixscore* years agoe, removed their residence to *Whaddon* in *Bucks* where some of them lived, died, and are buried.

The Animadvertor made as great an omission in his *Short view of K. Charles*, when mentioning his Tutor Mr. *Murrey*, but quite leaving out Sir *James Fullerton*, conjoynd with him in the same charge of the Princes education. And a greater fault of Commission is he guilty of, when taxing Mr. *Murrey* as disaffected to the *English Church*, who when made Provost of *Eaton* took his oath and therein professed his good liking of our Discipline, as in the *Cabala* doth appear.

To return to *Whaddon* the Animadvertor might have spared this his Note, who in the \* *Postscript* annexed to this Book, maketh *Edward Lord Montagu* created *Baron of Broughton* in *Northamptonshire*. Now though the *L. Montagu* hath the Manor of *Broughton* (with the appendant Advowson) and other considerable

\* Pag. 2. li. 14.

Lands therein; yet is he Baron of *Boughton* in the same County. A mistake so much the greater in the *Animadversor*, because done in his *Emendation* of his *Emendations* of the faults of another, so that he cannot *his it right* in this his *third endeavor*. This I had passed over in silence, had not his *cruelty* on my *Pen* or *Presse-slips* occasioned me to take notice thereof.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author proceeds. Fol. 21. *This Conference was partially set forth only by Dr. Barlow Dean of Chester, their professed Adversary, to the great disadvantage of their Divines.* ] If so, how did it come to passe, that none of their Divines then present, nor any other in their behalf did ever manifest to the world the partialities and falshoods of it. The Book was printed not long after the end of the Conference, publickly passing from one hand to another, and never convicted of any such Crime as it stands charged with, in any one particular passage to this very day, &c.

Fuller.

I only said that some did complain that this Conference was partially set forth. I avowed not that they complained justly, I believe their complaint *causless*, (and let it be *remediless* for me,) seeing I my self professe *verbo Sacerdotis*, that I have been accused that I have abridged *this Conference* to the disparagement of Dr. Reynolds, though my Conscience be clear herein.

Dr. Heylin.

However our Author telleth us, that he (*viz.* Mr. Nicholas Fuller) left behind him the reputation of an honest man. No question of it. It is a thing so incident to the Name, that whatsoever they doe or say, they are *honest* still.

Fuller.

All his jeering on my Name shall not make me goe to the *Heralds Office* to endeavor the altering thereof. I fetcht it from my *great-great Grand father*, and hope shall leave it to my *great-great Grand-child*. A Name which no doubt originally was taken from that usefull trade, without which Mankind can neither be warm or cleanly.

The like is frequent in many respectfull Families in England, as the Antiquary hath observed.

\* *Verflegan* of decayed intelligence.

*From whence came Smith, al be he Knight or Squire,  
But from the Smith that forgeth at the fire.*

\* *Stow his Survey of London,* pag. 97.

Yet considering the narrowness of my name, it is inferiour to few, having produced the best of English Pilots *T. Fuller*, who steered *Captain Cavendish* round about the World; the best of English Criticks, *N. Fuller*, so famous in forain parts for his *Miscellany's*; and none of the worst of English Benefactors, *J. Fuller*, one of the Judges of the Sheriffs Court in London, who built and \* endowed an *Almshouse* for twelve poor men at *Stoken-bowsh*, and another at *Shorditch* for as many poor Women. Besides, he gave his Lands and Tenements of great yearly valuation in the Parishes of *S. Bennet*, and *Peters Pauls Wharf London*, to Feoffees in Trust, to release Prisoners in the *Hole* of both Counters, whose Debrs exceeded not twenty shillings eight-pence. Yea it hath at this Day, one Bishop, one Dean, one Doctor, two Batchelour of Divinity, and many Masters of Arts, of no contemptible condition. Pardon Reader this digression done *se defendendo* against one, by whom my Name is too much *undervalued*, by Ironical over-valuing thereof.

Dr Heylin.

Before we had the story of *Thomas Fuller* of *Hammersmith* condemn'd for *felony*, but still so *honest* and so entirely beloved by King *Harry the sixth* after his decease, that he appeared to him on the top of the Gallows, encourag'd him, and so charm'd



charm'd the *Rope*, that it did not strangle him, *lib. 4. 154.*

Afterwards we meet with *John Fuller*, Doctor of the Laws (a better than he) a *Persecutor* in *Queen Maries* dayes, but a *pittiful* man, as the *Index* telleth us.

Here we have *Nicholas Fuller* a Counsellor (the best of the three) decrying openly the Authority of the High Commission; and thereby giving a *legal advantage* to Archbishop *Bancroft*, by whom imprisoned, and there dying, but dying with the reputation of an *honest* man.

And then another *Thomas Fuller* a *Minister*, (the best of all the company) and an *honest* man too, so well deserving of the Church; and all good Church-men (both alive and dead) by this notable History, as not to doubt of the like favour at their hands (should there be occasion) as *Thomas* of *Hammer-smith* receiv'd of King *Harry the sixth*.

#### Fuller.

Here are four Gradations of *Fullers*, good, better, best, best of all, which in the language of jeering (speaking alwayes by the contraries, amounteth unto bad, worse, worst, worst of all. As for the first *T. Fuller*, I answer; First, the tale is not made but related by me, who have charged my Margin with the Author thereof, \* *Harpsfield*, nor inconsiderable for Learning & Religion amongst his own party. Secondly, not the least credit is given thereunto in my reporting it, matching it with another *miracle*, which I call *equally true*, that is *equally untrue* in the interpretation of any *unpartial Reader*. Thirdly, seeing I followed *Harpsfield* in relating his *Miracles* in other places; if here I should have deserted him, probably it would have been by others condemned in me for a *sullen omission*, as by the *Animadversor* for a light *Insertion*, because *T. F.* was my *Namesake*.

The good nature and pittiful disposition of Dr. *F. Fuller* plainly appeareth in Mr. *Fox*; and as for his bounty to *Jesue Col.* in *Cambridge*, I leave it to some of that foundation to give testimony thereof.

As for the third *N. Fuller*, be it reported to the \* *JESSES* of *Graves-Inne*, I mean such *Benchers* as pass amongst them for *Old Men*, and can distinctly remember him, whether he hath not left a pretious and perfumed memory behinde him, of one pious to God, temperate in himself, able in his Profession, moderate in his Fees, careful for his Client, faithfull to his Friend, hospital to his Neighbour, pittifull to the Poor, and bountifull to *Emanuel Colledge* in *Cambridge*: in a word blameless in all things, save this one Act of Indiscretion, which could not make him forfeit the reputation of his honesty, especially seeing he paid dear for it, and died in durance. Thus though Mr. *Stubbs* was so obnoxious to the displeasure of *Queen Elizabeth*, that his *Right-hand* was cut off, for writing a *Libel* against Her Match with *Monseir*; yet \* Mr. *Camden* does call him *Virum fama integerrima*.

For the fourth and last, I will make the *Animadversor* the self same Answer which the Servants of *Hezekiah* returned to *Rabshakeh*; \* *But they held their peace, and answered him not a word.*

#### Dr. Heylin.

The Author saith, and as about this time, some perchance over-valued the *Geneva Notes*, out of that especial love they bare to the Authors, and place whence it proceeded: So on the other side, some without cause did sleight, or rather without charity did slander the same.] I trowe our Author will not take upon him to condemn all those who approve not of the *Genevian Notes* upon the Bible, or to appear an Advocate for them, though he tells us not many lines before, that they were printed thirty times over with the general liking of the people.

#### Fuller.

Had I said two and thirty times, though past the *Head Game* I had not been out. And now the Reader shall have my full and free sense of the *Genevian Notes*. I remember the Proverb.

\* Hist. Ecclesiast. seculo decimo quinto, pag. 646.

\* 1 Sam. 17. 12.

\* In hujus Elizabeth. Anno 1581.

\* Esay 36. 21.

\* Plutarchus.

\* Πλάτωνος ὁ χαρακτὴρ ἐνὶ μὲν καλῶν ἐν δὲ κακοῖς.

} In Head of Polyplus is had  
What is good, and what is bad.

Such a mixture is in these *Notes*, wherein the most, *pious* and *proper* to expound their respective places; but some (And those *too many*, though never so few) *false, factious, dangerous*, yea *destructive* to Religion. I could therefore wish some godly and discreet persons, imposed and employed to purge forth the latter, that the rest may remain without danger, for the profit of plain people. But till this be done, I am (I thank God) old enough to eat fish, feeding on the flesh thereof, and laying by the bones on my Trencher, or casting them down to the *Doggs*.

Dr. Heylin.

I hope he will not condemn all those who approve not those *Notes*, for *K. James*, who in the *Conference at Hampton Court*, did first declare that of all the Translation of the Bible into the *English* tongue, that of *Geneva* was the worst; And secondly, that the *Notes* upon it were *partial, untrue, seditious, and favouring too much of dangerous and traitorous conceits*. For proof whereof his Majesty instanced in two places, the one on *Exod. 1. ver. 19.* where disobedience to the King is allowed of: The other in *2 Chron. 8. 15, 16.* where *Asa* is taxed for *deposing his Mother only, and not killing Her*: A note, whereof the *Scottish Presbyterians* made special use, not only *deposing Mary* their lawfull Queen from the Regal Throne, but prosecuting Her openly, and under hand, till they had took away her life. These instances our Author in his *Summary* of that *Conference*, hath passed over in silence, as loath to have such blemishes appear in the *Genevians*, or their *Annotations*: And I hope also that he will not advocate for the rest.

Fuller.

Down with these *Bones* to the *Dogs* indeed, which alone are proper for their palate. The *Scots* are old enough (being reputed by *Historians* one of the most ancient Nations of Europe;) let them answer for themselves, though (I believe) they cannot answer this foul fact, but by penitential confession thereof. But whereas the *Animadversor* taxeth me for wilfully omitting those Instances of *K. James* in favour to the *Genevians*; I protest my integrity therein. It was only because I would have my *Summary* a *Summary*, no *Abridgement* being adequate to the Narration abridged therein.

Dr. Heylin.

For let him tell me what he thinks of that on the second of *St. Matthews* Gospel, ver. 12. viz. *Promise ought, &c.*

Fuller.

Let him shew me what commission he hath to enquire into my thoughts; However, to doe him a pleasure, I will tell him what I think in the point.

Dr. Heylin.

*Promise* (say the *Genevians*) in their Note, *Matthew 5. 12. ought not to be kept where Gods Honour and preaching of his Truth is hindered, or else it ought not to be broken*. What a wide gap, think we, doth this open to the breach of all Promises, Oathes, Covenants, Contracts, and Agreements, not only betwixt man and man, but between Kings and their Subjects? What Rebel ever took up Arms without some pretences of that nature? What Tumults and Rebellions have been rais'd in all parts of Christendom, in *England, Scotland, Ireland, France, the Netherlands, Germany*, and indeed where not? under colour that Gods honour, and the preaching of the truth is hindered? If this once pass for good sound Doctrine,



ctrine, Neither the King nor any of his Good Subjects, in what Realm soever, can live in safety. Gods Honour and the preaching of his Truth are two such pretences, as will make void all Laws, elude all Oaths, and thrust out all Covenants and agreements, be they what they will.

Fuller.

I behold this Note as *impertinent* to that place, seeing it appears not in the Text, that those wise men made Herod any promise to return unto him. Secondly, Had they made him any promise, yea bound it with an Oath by the living God, such an Oath had not been obligatory, because God (to whom the forfeiture was due) released the Band in an extraordinary Vision, unto them such, that our Age doth not produce.

As the Note is *impertinent* in that place, so it is *dangerous* at all times; and mans corruption may take thence too much mischievous advantage, which is partly given, because so *perilous* a pit is left open (contrary to the Judicial \* Law) and not covered over with due caution requisite thereunto. I concur therefore with the *Animadversor* in the just dislike thereof. \* Exod. 21. 33.

Dr. Heylin.

Next I would have our Author tell me, what he thinks on this Note, on the ninth of the Revelation, *vass. 3.* where the *Locusts* which came out of the *smoak* are said to be *falsc Teachers, Hereticks, and worldly subtil Prelats, with Monks, Friars, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Doctors, Batchelours, and Masters.* Does not this Note apparently fasten the Name of Locusts on all the Clergy of this Realm, that is to say, Archbishops, Bishops, and all such as are graduated in the University by the name of Doctors, Batchelours, and Masters? And doth it not as plainly yoke them with Friars, Monks, and Cardinals, &c.

Fuller.

It was in my opinion both *indiscretely* and *uncharitably* done, to jumble them together, being of so *different* (not to say *contrary*) *originations.* Sure I am, though they are pleased to *match* them by force, yet the Parties were never agreed.

They might as well have added *Superintendents, Lecturers, Assistants, and whole Classesses;* seeing all such, if *vicious* in Life, or *Heretical* in Doctrine, (notwithstanding their reformed Names) are *Locusts*, as well (that is, as *ill*) as any of the other.

But let us return to those my words which first gave the first occasion to these four last *Animadversions.*

Church-History, 10 Book, Page 59.

And as about this time, some perchance over-valued the Geneva Notes, out of the especial love they bare to the Authors and Place whence they proceeded; so on the other side, some without cause, did sleight, or rather without charity, did slander the same: For in this or the next year a Doctor in solemn assembly in the University of Oxford publicly in his Sermon at St. Maries, accused them as guilty of mis-interpretation touching the Divinity of Christ, and his Messiah-ship, as if symbolizing with Arrians and Jews against them both. For which he was afterwards suspended by Dr. Robert Abbot propter conciones publicas minus Orthodoxas & offensionis plenas.

\* In the Margin this Note Dr. H. in Oxford caus'dly inveiyeth against the Geneva Notes.

Fain would I know first, whether these my words import my *inclination* to defend all in the Geneva Notes.

Secondly, though I neither *can* nor *will* (as by the premisses doth appear) excuse all passages in them, I am confident that neither the *Animadversor*, nor all those of all degrees and qualities in both Universities urging him to write against me, are able to finde out any *Arianisme* or *Anti-Messianisme* in those Notes. And therefore as an Historian I was bound to take notice of the faults and censure of that Doctor, onely expressed in the Margin by the initial letter of his surname.

b b b

Dr. Heylin.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author goeth on. Fol. 77. *At this time began the troubles in the Low-Countries about matters of Religion heightened between two opposite parties, Remonstrants, and Contra-Remonstrants; their Controversies being chiefly reducible to five points, &c.* Not at this time, viz. 1618. which our Author speaks of, but some years before.

Fuller.

A causlesse Cavil. I said not absolutely they now began, but now they began heightened. The Animadvertor knows full well that such participles equivale infinitives.

In Greek, *Matth. 1. 8.* ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ ἔχου, pro ἔχον.

In Latin, *Virg. En. 2.* — *Sensit medios delapsus in Hostes, pro delapsus se esse.*

The Troubles in the Low-Countries began heightened, that is to heightened. The distemper was bred some years before, which now came to the Paroxysm thereof, viz. anno 1618.

Dr. Heylin.

And first it is to be observed, that though he was then Dean of Westminster when the custody of the Great Seal was committed to him; yet was he not then and still Dean of that Church, that is to say, not Dean thereof at such time as our Author writ this part of the History: For fol. 80. speaking of Dr. Hall's return from the Synod of Dort, Anno 1618. he adds, that he continued in health till this day, thirty three years after, which falls into the year 1651. And certainly at that time Dr. Williams (then Archbishop of York) was not Dean of Westminster, that place being bestowed by his Majesty on Dr. Steward Clerk of the Closet, Anno 1645. being full six years before the time our Author speaks of.

Fuller.

This I have learnt from the Animadvertor, which I knew not before, and I thank him for it. The great distance of Exeter (where I lived) from Oxford, may partly excuse my ignorance therein; who alwaies beheld Archbishop Williams as the last Dean of Westminster: as indeed he was the last that ever was instaled therein. And Dr. Steward never lived minute in, or gained farthing from his Dean-ship. So umbratile a Dignity is not worth the contending for.

Dr. Heylin.

Secondly, Whereas our Author tells us, that the place was proper not for the plain but guarded Gown; I would fain know how it should be more proper for the guarded Gown than it was for the plain. There was a time when the Chancellors (as our Author telleth us elsewhere) were alwaies Bishops; and from that time till the fall of Cardinal Wolfey, that Office continued for the most part in the hands of the Prelates: at what time, that great Office was discharged with such a general contentment, that people found more expedition in their Suits, and more ease to their purses than of later times. By which it seems that men who are never bred to know the true grounds and reasons of the Common Law, might and could mitigate the rigor of it in such difficult cases as were brought before them; the Chancery not having in those dayes such a mixture of Law as now it hath, nor being so tyed up to such intricate Rules as now it is.

Fuller.

I have nothing to return in opposition to the Animadvertor in his endeavouring to make a Clergy-man proper to be Lord Chancellor of England, as, as well qualified As any Common-Lawyer for the Place. Nor if I could, would I disprove what tendeth to the Honour of my Profession. The little toe is advanced when the

Head



*Head* is Crowned, as a Member of the same Body; and my meannesse is sensible of some honour, that any of my Calling are put in a capacity of so high a Preferment. Onely I request, that if the *Animadverſor* be advanced to the Place, and if I have a cause brought before him, that he would be pleased to hear it *cum omni favore* on this consideration, that he put me to much trouble in answering his *cauſeſſe Cavils* againſt my *Church-Hiſtory*.

Give me leave to add, that I ſuſpect the *Common-Lawyers* will rake advantage from the laſt words of the *Animadverſor*, confeſſing the Court of Chancery now more *intricated* and *mingled* with Law, than in former Ages. Hence I fear they will infer, that *Clergy-men* (though they were heretofore) will not hereafter be ſo able and fit to diſcharge that Office. But let us proceed.

Dr. Heylin.

But thirdly, whereas our Author in advocating for the Common Lawyers, preſcribeth for them a Succeſſion of ſix Deſcents, he hath therein confuted himſelf, and ſaved me the trouble of an *Animadverſion*, by a Marginal Note; in which he telleth us, that *Sir Ch. Hatton was not bred a Lawyer*. If ſo, then neither was the Title ſo ſtrong, nor the Proſcriptions ſo well grounded as our Author makes it; the interpoſition of *Sir Chriſtopher Hatton* between *Sir Tho. Bromley* and *Sir John Puckering*, reſtraining it to three Deſcents. and but thirty years; which is too ſhort a time for a Preſcription to be built upon.

Fuller.

I preſcribe not for the *Common-Lawyers* whoſe words are, *the Common-Lawyers* (and thoſe I aſſure you knowing enough in this their own Art) *preſcribed for ſix Deſcents*. The Marginal note was entred by me, a little to check, for (ſay they) it doth not confute their preſcription. Alldging that *Sir Chriſtopher Hatton*, though not bred ſo profeſſed a Lawyer, as to be called to the Bar, was admitted in one of the Inns of Court, and wore no plain but a guarded Gown in *Weſtmiſter-Hall*, as ſome ſtill alive doe remember.

Dr. Heylin.

Our Author telleth us folio 93. how *Marcus Antonius de Dominis*, He had 14. years been *Archbiſhop of Spalato*, &c. Conſcience in ſhew, and Covetouſneſs in deed, cauſed his coming hither.] This is a very hard ſaying, a censure which entrenches too much upon the Priviledges of Almighty God, who alone knows the ſecrets of the heart of man. *Interſt tenebris, interſt cogitationibus noſtris, quaſi alteris tenebris*, as *Minutius* hath it.

Fuller.

If my ſaying *intrencheth on divine Priviledges*, I ſhall crave pardon from that God, who will more freely forgive me, than the *Animadverſor* would, had I offended him: beſides, it is no *encroachment* on the *Prerogative* of the Crown of Heaven, to censure the ſecrets of mens hearts, when made viſible to the World in their actions: And though the thoughts of this Prelate were written in *ſecret Characters*, yet are they eaſily read, as decyphered by the Key of his enſuing Deeds, who left the Print of his covetous claws in all places where he got *Engliſh preferments*.

Dr. Heylin.

The man here mentioned had been in the confeſſion of our Author himſelf, *Archbiſhop of Spalato in Dalmatia*, a dignity of great power and reputation, and conſequently of a fair Revenue in proportion to it.

Fuller.

I believe no leſs; but far ſhort of our *Engliſh Biſhopricks*. It may be ſaid of *Italian Dignities*, (to which *Dalmatian* may be reduced, as under the *Venetian* Common-

*Common-wealth*) that generally they have *high Racks*, but *bad Mangers*, as being too *thick* to *burnish* about in much *breadth* and *wealth*. The *Intrado* of the *Archbishoprick* of *Spalato* consisteth partly in his *Jurisdiction*, the exercise whereof is much obstructed, partly in *Lands*, the *Revenues* whereof are more impaired by the *vicinity* of the *Turk*, *harraging* those parts with his daily *Intrusion*.

\* Atlas, p. 334.

\* *Mercator* tells us, that the *Port* of *Salona* (which is hardly an English mile from *Spalato*) *nunc quidem parum Colitur ob Turcarum Viciniam*.

\* Dr. Craken  
thorp in defen-  
sione Ecclesie  
Anglic. pag. 3.

A \*judicious Writer, valuing his *Arch-bishoprick* (as it seemeth to advantage) estimateth it annually at 3000 Crowns, which falleth a fourth part short of 1000 pounds sterling, a summe exceeded in most of our middling *Bishopricks*: Besides the *Arch-bishoprick* of *Spalato* was clogged and incumbered with a Pension of 500 CROWNS (the sixth part of his *Revenues*) payable (with the arrears) by the *Popes* Command, to one *Andrutius*. The payment of which *Sixt part* went as much against *Spalato's* stomach, as the payment of the *Fifts* now a dayes doth from the present Possessors to sequestred Minister.

#### Dr. Heylin.

He could not hope to mend his fortunes by his coming hither, or to advance himself to a more liberal entertainment in the Church of *England*, than what he had attained to in the Church of *Rome*. Covetousness therefore could not be the motive for leaving his own Estate, of which he had been possessed 14. years in our Authors reckoning, to betake himself to a strange Country, where he could promise himself nothing but protection and the freedoms of conscience. Our Author might have said, with more probability, that covetousness, and not conscience, was the cause of his going hence, no bait of profit or preferment being laid before him to invite him hither, as they were both, by those which had the managing of that designe, to allure him hence. &c.

#### Fuller.

Dark men are the best Comment upon themselves, whose precedent are best expounded by their subsequent actions. Who so considereth the rapacity and tenacity of this Prelate in *England*, will easily believe that a two-handed covetousness moved him to leave his native Country and come over hither; One to save, the other to gain. To save, that is to evade the payment of the aforesaid Pension, with the arrears thereof: To gain, promising himself, as by the future will appear, not only protection, but preferment; not only safety, but more plenty by coming hither. He had Learning enough to deserve, Ambition enough to desire, Boldness enough to beg, and presumed K. James had bounty enough to give him the highest and best preferment in *England*; and he who publicly did beg York, may be presumed privately to have promised the *Arch-bishoprick* of *Canterbury* to himself.

#### Dr. Heylin.

All mens mouths (saith our Author) were now filled with discourse of Prince Charles his Match with Donna Maria, the Infanta of Spain. The Protestants grieved thereat, fearing that his Marriage would be the Funerals of their Religion, &c.] The business of the Match with Spain hath already sufficiently been agitated, between the Author of the History of the Reign of King Charles and his Observer: And yet I must add something to let our Author and his Reader to understand thus much, that the Protestants had no cause to fear such a Funeral.

#### Fuller.

Had I said that the Protestants justly feared this Marriage, then the Animadversor had justly censured; whereas now, grant they feared where no fear was, he findeth fault where no fault is. Historians may and must relate those great and general impressions which are made on the spirits of people, and are not bound to justify the causes thereof to be sound and sufficient. Ten thousand Persons of quality are still alive, who can and will attest, that a pannick fear for that Match invaded the Nation.

Dr. Heylin.



Dr. Heylin.

They knew they lived under such a King who loved his Sovereignty too well, to quit any part thereof to the *Pope of Rome*; especially to part with that Supremacy in Ecclesiastical matters, which he esteemed the fairest flower in the Royal Garland. They knew they lived under such a King, whose interest it was to preserve Religion in the same state in which he found it; and could not fear but that he would sufficiently provide for the safety of it.

Fuller.

Mr. Camden writing of the Match of *Q. Elizabeth*, with *Mounſer*, younger Brother to the King of France, hath this preface, that when Mr. Stubbs whole hand was cut off, said, *God save the Queen*, the multitude standing by held their peace, rendring this as one reason thereof:

*\* Ex odio Nuptiarum, quas religione exitiosas futuras prasagierunt.*

Out of hatred to that Match, which they presag'd would be destructive to Religion.

Camden *lib. 7.*  
Ann. 1581.  
pag. 346.

Now may not the *Animadverſor* as well tax Mr. Camden for inserting this needless Note, and tell the world, that no Princess was more skilful in *Queen-craft* than *Q. Elizabeth*, and that this preface of her People was falsely founded? I detract not from the policy or piety, head or heart of *K. James*; but this I say, let Sovereigns be never so good, their Subjects under them will have their own Joies, Grievs, Loves, Hatreds, Hopes, Fears; sometimes caused, sometimes causeless; and Historians have an equal Commission to report both to posterity.

Dr. Heylin.

If any Protestants feared the funeral of their Religion, they were such Protestants as had been frighted out of their wits, as you know who used to call the *Puritans*; or such who under the name of Protestants had contrived themselves into a Faction not only against Episcopacy, but even Monarchy also.

Fuller.

I profess I know not who used to call *Puritans* Protestants frighted out of their wits: who ever it was, it was not *Michael the Arch-angel*, who would not rath on the Devil.

By Protestants, I mean Protestants indeed, or (if you will rather have it) *Christians* sound in their Judgement, uncontriv'd into any Faction; so far from being *Anti-episcopal*, that some of them were Members of the Hierarchy; and so far from destroying Monarchy, that since they endeavoured the preservation thereof, with the destruction of their own Estates.

As worthy Doctor *Hackwel*, Arch-Deacon of Surrey, was oured his Chaplain's place, for his opposing the Match when first tendered to Prince Henry: so many (qualified as aforesaid) concurred with his Judgement, in the resumption of the Match with *K. Charles*; notwithstanding they were justly and fully possessed of integrity and ability of *K. James*. Their seriously considering the Zeal of the Spanish to promote Popery; the activity of the *Romish Priests* to gain Proselytes; their dexterous sinisterity in seducing Souls; the negligence of too many English Ministers in feeding their Flocks; the plausibility of Popery to vulgar Judgements; the lushionness thereof to the palate of flesh and blood; the fickleness of our English Nation to embrace Novelties; the wavering of many unsettled minds; the subtilty of Satan to advance any mischievous designe; the justice of God to leave a sinful Nation to the Spirit of delusion; feared (whether justly or no, let the Reader judge) that the Spanish Match (as represented, attended with a Toleration) might prove fatal to the Protestant Religion.

Dr. Heylin.

And to these Puritans, nothing was more terrible than the Match with Spain, fearing (and perhaps justly fearing) that the Kings alliance with that Crown, might arme him both with power and counsel to suppress those Practices which have since prov'd the funeral of the Church of England.

Fuller.

By the Church of England the *Animadversor* meaneth (as I believ) the *Hierarchy*, the Funerals whereof for the present we do behold: However I hope there is still a Church in England alive, or else we were all in a sad, yea in an *unsalvable* condition. The state of which Church in England I compare to \**Eutichus*. I suspect it hath formerly slept too soundly in ease and security. Sure I am, it is since, with him, fallen down from the third Loft; from Honour into Contempt; from Unity into Faction; from Verity into dangerous Errors: Yet I hope (to follow the Allegory) that her life is still left in her; I mean so much soundness left, that persons born, living, and dying therein are capable of salvation. Let such who think the Church of England sick, pray for her wonderfull Recovery; and such as think her dead, pray for her miraculous Resurrection.

Dr. Heylin.

But as it seems they feared where no fear was, our Author tellings, fol. 112. that the Spanish State had no minde or meaning of a Match; and that this was quickly discovered by Prince Charles at his coming thither. How so? Because, saith he, fol. 112. they demanded such unreasonable liberty in education of the Loyal Offspring, and other Priviledges for English Priests, &c.] If this be all, it signifies as much as nothing. For thus the argument seems to stand, viz. The Spaniards were desirous to get as good conditions as they could for themselves and their Party, ergo they had no minde to the match. Or thus, The demands of the Spaniards when the business was first in Treaty, seem'd to be unreasonable, ergo they never really intended that it should proceed. Our Author cannot be so great a stranger in the shops of London, as not to know that Trades-men use to ask many times twice as much for a Commodity, as they mean to take; and therefore may conclude as strongly, that they do not mean to sell those wares for which they ask such an unreasonable price at the first demand. *Iniquum petere; ut equum obtineas*, hath been the usual practise (especially in driving State-bargains) of all times and ages. And though the Spaniards at the first spoke big; and stood upon such points, as the King neither could, nor would in honour or conscience consent unto: yet things were after brought to such a temperment, that the Marriage was agreed upon, the Articles by both Kings subscrib'd, a Proxie made by the Prince of Wales to espouse the Infanta, and all things on her part prepared for the day of the Wedding. The breach which followed came not from any averiness in the Court of Spain, though where the fault was, and by what means occasioned, need not here be said.

Fuller.

I expected when the *Animadversor* had knocked away my Bowl, he would have layed a Toucher in the room thereof: but if neither of us have a Bowl in the Alley, we must both begin the Game again.

May the Reader be pleased to know, that living in Exeter, I had many hours private converse with the Right Honourable John Digby Earl of Bristol, who favoured me so far (much above my desert) that at his last going over into France (where he died) he was earnest with me to goe with him, promising me, to use his own expression, that I should have half a loaf with him, so long as he had an whole one to himself. This I mention to insinuate a probability, that I may be as knowing in the Mysteries of the Spanish Match as the *Animadversor*.

Double was the Cause of the breach of the Spanish Match; One, such as may with no less truth than safety be related, as publickly insisted on in the Parliament, viz. the



the *Spanish Prevarication* to restore the *Palatinate* : The other secret, not so necessary to be known, nor safe to be reported. And I crave the liberty to conceal it, seeing the *Animadverſor* himſelf hath his *Politick Apoſiopſis*, breaking off as abruptly as the *Spanish Match* with this warie reſervation ; though where the fault was, and by what Means occaſioned, need not here to be ſaid.

Dr. Heylin.

But well fare our Author for all that ; who finally hath abſolv'd the *Spaniard* from this breach, and laid the ſame upon King *James*, deſpairing of any reſtitution to be made of the *Palatinate* by the way of Treaty.

Ibid. Whereupon King *James* not onely broke off all Treaty with Spain, but alſo called the great Council of his Kingdom together.] By which it ſeems, that the breaking off of the Treaty did precede the Parliament. But *multa apparent quæ non ſunt*, every is not as it ſeems. The Parliament in this caſe came before, by whole continual importunity and ſolicitation, the breach of the Treaties followed after. The King lov'd peace too well to lay aſide the Treaties, and engage in War before he was deſperate of ſucceſſe any other way than by that of the Sword, as was aſſur'd both of the hands and hearts of his ſubjects to aſſiſt him in it. And therefore our Author ſhould have ſaid, that the King not onely called together his great Council, but broke off the Treaty, and not have given us here ſuch an *Hysteron Proteron*, as neither doth conſiſt with reaſon, nor the truth of ſtory.

Fuller.

To be *unwilling*, a *Covenant-breaker*, is a ſoul fault, as the \* Apoſtle accounteth it : Fair be it from me to charge it cauſſily on any, eſpecially on a dead Chriſtian, eſpecially on a King, eſpecially on King *James*, generally repreſented overſound of Peace, and therefore the more improbable fiſt to infringe it. \* Rom 1. 31.

To prevent exception, in the next Edition, calling the *Parliament*, ſhall have the precedency of breaking off the Treaty for the Match.

I ſuſpect that the *Animadverſor* hath committed a greater *transpoſition*, when affirming King \* *James* to have deſigned the *Spanish Match* in order to the recovery of the *Palatinate* : Whereas it plainly appears, \* that before any ſuſpicion of troubles in the *Palatinate* (occaſioned by P. *Fredericks* accepting the Crown of *Bohemia*,) this Match was projected by K. *James* for P. *Henry* his eldeſt Son ; and after his death, reſum'd for P. *Charles*, without the leaſt relation to the regaining of the (not then loſt) *Palatinate*. \* In his ſhort view of the reign of King. *Charles*. \* In the *Cabala*, and in the hiſtorical obſervations of Mr. *R. uſhworth*

I have paſſed over ſome additory notes of the *Animadverſor* in this Kings Reign, partly becauſe I perceive my Book ſwells beyond the expected proportion, partly that I may have the more ſcope to answer every particular objected againſt me in the Reign of K. *Charles*, in ſuch things which lie level to our own eyes, and are within our own remembrance.

My dear Sir,  
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th inst. in relation to the matter of the

of the 28th inst. in relation to the matter of the

of the 28th inst. in relation to the matter of the

of the 28th inst. in relation to the matter of the

of the 28th inst. in relation to the matter of the

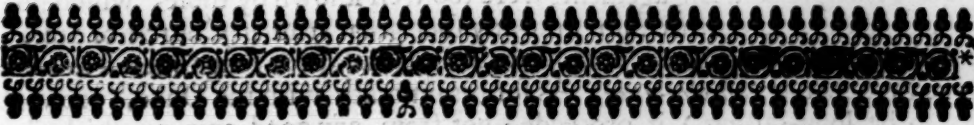
of the 28th inst. in relation to the matter of the

of the 28th inst. in relation to the matter of the

of the 28th inst. in relation to the matter of the

of the 28th inst. in relation to the matter of the





## THE ELEVENTH BOOK,

Containing the Reign of K. *Charls.*

*Dr. Heylyn.*

**T**His Book concludes our Author's History, and my Animadversions. And if the End be futable unto the Beginning, it is like to finde me work enough; our Authour stumbling at the Threshold, which amongst Superstitious People hath been counted for an ill Prefage.

*Fuller.*

Who I pray stumbled in the beginning of his Animadversions? when he said, That the Britains worshipped but one God, and that *Diana* was none of their originall Deity. What if I stumbled, yea, and should fall too? Hath not the Animadvertor read, *Rejoyce not against me, O mine enemy: when I fall, I shall rise again.* *Mica. 7. 8.*

*Dr. Heylyn.*

Having placed King *Charls* on the Throne, our Author saith, fol. 117. *On the fourteenth day of May following, King James his Funeralls were performed very solemnly, in the Collegiat Church at Westminster.* ] Not on the fourteenth, but the fourth, saith the Author of the History of the Reign of King *Charls*; and both true alike. It neither was on the fourth, nor on the fourteenth, but the seventh of May, on which those solemn Obsequies were performed at Westminster. Of which, if he will not take my word, let him consult the Pamphlet, called, *The Observer observed*, (fol. 6.) and he shall be satisfied. Our Author's Clock must keep time better, or else we shall never know how the day goes with him.

*Fuller.*

I will take his word without going any further, and this erroneous Date, in my next Edition shall, God-willing, be mended accordingly. That Clock which alwaies strikes true, may well be forfeited to the Lord of the Manour, though mine, I hope, will be found to go false, as seldom as another's.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

Our Author saith, As for Dr. *Preston*, &c. *His party would perswade us, that he might have chose his own Mitre.* ] And some of his party would perswade us, That he had not onely large parts, of sufficient receipt to manage the Broad Seal it self, but that the Seal was proffered to him, fol. 131. ] But we are not bound to believe all which is said by that Party, who looked upon the Man with such reverence, as came near Idolatry.

*Fuller.*

I do not say, they do perswade, but they would perswade us. And here the common expression takes place with me, *Non persuadebunt, etiam si persuaserint.* Grant, I do not believe all which is said by his Party, yet I believe it was my duty, as an Historian, to take notice of so remarkable a passage, and to report it to Posterity, charging my Margin (as I have done) with the name and place of the

\* Author, wherein I found it related.

\* Mr. Ball in  
Dr. Prestons  
life

A a a

Dr.

## Dr. Heylyn.

His Principles and Engagements were too well known by those, which governed affairs, to venture him unto any such great trust in Church or State; and his activity so suspected, that he would not have been long suffered to continue Preacher at *Lincoln-Inne*. As for his intimacy with the Duke, (too violent to be long-lasting) it proceeded not from any good opinion which the Duke had of him, but that he found how instrumentall he might be, to manage that prevailing Party to the King's advantage. But when it was found, that he had *more of the Serpent in him, than of the Dove*; and that he was not tractable in steering the *Helm of his own Party by the Court-Compass*, he was discountenanced and laid by, as not worth the keeping. He seemed the Court-Meteor for a while, raised to a suddain height of expectation; and having flasht and blaz'd a little, went out again, and was as suddainly forgotten.

## Fuller.

This is onely *Additionall*, and no whit *Opposite* to what I have written, and therefore I am not oblig'd to return any answer thereunto.

## Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, fol. 119. *Next day the King coming from Canterbury, met her at Dover, whence with all solemnity she was conducted to Somerset-House in London, where a Chappel was now prepared for her Devotion, with a Covent adjoyning of Capuchin-Fryers, according to the Articles of her marriage.* In all this nothing true, but that the new Queen was conducted with all solemnity from Dover to London. For first, although there was a Chappel prepared, yet was it not prepared, for her; nor, at *Somerset-house*. The Chappel which was then prepared, was not prepared for her, but the *Lady Infanta*, built in the Kings house of *St. James*, at such time as the Treaty with *Spain* stood upon good terms, and then intended for the Devotions of the Princess of *Wales*, not the Queen of *England*. Secondly, the Articles of the Marriage make no mention of the *Capuchin-Friers*, nor any Covent to be built for them. The Priests who came over with the Queen were by agreement to be all of the *Oratorian Order*, as less suspected by the English, whom they had never provok'd, as had the *Jesuits*, (and most other of the Monastick Orders) by their mischievous practises. But these *Oratorians* being sent back with the rest of the French, Anno, 1626. and not willing to expose themselves to the hazard of a second expulsion, the *Capuchins*, under *Father Joseph*, made good the place. The breach with *France*, the action at the *Isle of Rhee*, and the losse of *Rechel*, did all occur, before the *Capuchins* were thought of, or admitted hither. And thirdly, some years after the making of the Peace between the Crowns, (which was in the latter end of 1628. and not before) the Queen obtain'd, that these *Friers* might have leave to come over to her, some lodgings being fitted for them in *Somerset-house*, and a new Chappel then and there built for her Devotion.

## Fuller.

Here, and in the next Note, the *Animadvertor habet confitentem reum*. And, not to take covert of a *Latine expression*, in plain English, I confess my mistake, which is no *originall*, but a *derivative error* in me, who can (if so pleased) alledge the printed Author who hath misguided me. Yet, I will patiently bear my proportion of guilt, and will provide, God-willing, for the amendment in the next Edition. Thus, being so supple to confesse my fault, when convinced thereof, I therefore may and will be the more stiff, in standing on the terms of mine own integrity, when causlessly accused.

But if the *Animadvertor* be too Insulting over me, let him remember his own short view of the life of King *Charls*, vvhere he tells us of the three *welch Generals*, that they submitted to mercy, which they never tasted, naming \* *Laughern*,

\* Compare his page 140 with his page 144.



*Powel*, and *Poyer*: whereas two of them did find mercy, a little male-child being taken up, who did cast Lots at *White-wall*; and, by Providence ordering Casualty, *Laugbern* and *Powel* were pardoned, and lately, if not still, alive. But I forgive the Doctor for this error, being better then a truth, two Gentlemen gaining their lives thereby.

Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, f. 121. *The Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Keeper, was now daily descendant in the Kings favour, who so highly distasted him, that he would not have him, as Dean of Westminster, to perform any part of his Coronation.* As little truth in this as in that before. For first, the Bishop of Lincoln was not Lord Keeper at the time of the Coronation. Secondly, if he had been so, and that the King was so distasted with him, as not to suffer him to assist at his Coronation; how came he to be suffered to be present at it in the capacity of Lord Keeper? For that he did so, is affirmed by our Author, saying, *That the King took a scrawl of parchment out of his bosom, and gave it to the Lord Keeper Williams, who read it to the Commons four severall times, East, West, North, and South, fol. 123.* Thirdly, the Lord Keeper, who read that Scrole, was not the Lord Keeper Williams, but the Lord Keeper Coventry; the Seal being taken from the Bishop of Lincoln, and committed to the custody of Sir Thomas Coventry, in October before. And therefore fourthly, our Author is much out, in placing both the Coronation, and the following Parliament, before the change of the Lord Keeper; and sending Sir John Suckling to fetch that Seal, at the end of a Parliament in the Spring, which he had brought away with him before Michaelmas Term. But as our Author was willing to keep the Bishop of Lincoln in the Deanry of Westminster, for no less then five or six years after it was confer'd on another; so is he as desirous to continue him Lord Keeper for as many months, after the Seal had been entrusted to another hand.

Fuller.

This also is an error. I neither can nor will defend the Lord Keeper Williams, put for the Lord Keeper Coventry, which hath betrayed me to some consequentiall incongruities. I will not plead for my self in such a Suit, where I foresee the Verdict will go against me. Onely I move as to mitigation of Costs and Damages, that greater slips have fallen from the Pens of good Historians.

Mr. Speed in his Chronicle, first Edition, page 786. speaking of Henry, eldest son to King Henry the eighth, maketh Arch-Bishop Cranmer (mistaken for Warham) his God-father, twenty four years before Cranmer ever sat in that See. I write not this to accuse him, but in part to excuse my self, by paralleling mine with as evident a mistake. I hope my free confession of my fault, with promise of emendation of It (and the Appendants thereof) in my next Edition, will meet with the Reader's absolution. And let the Animadverfor for the present (if so pleased) make merry, and feast himself on my mistake, assuring him, that he is likely to fast a long time hereafter.

Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, f. 122. *The Earl of Arundel, as Earl Marshal of England; & the Duke of Buckingham, as Lord high Constable of England, for that day went before his Majesty in that great Solemnity.* In this passage, and the next that follows, our Author shewes himself as bad an Herald in marshalling a Royal Show, as in stating the true time of the creation of a noble Peer. Here in this place he placeth the Earl Marshall before the Constable; whereas by the Statute 31 H. 8. c. 10. the Constable is to have precedency before the Marshall. Nor want there precedents to shew, that the Lord High Constable did many times direct his Mandats to the Earl Marshall, as one of the Ministers of his Court, willing and requiring him to perform such and such services, as in the said Precepts were expressed.

Fuller

Fuller.

My Heraldry is right both in Place and Time. The Earl of *Arundel*, as Earl *Marshall*, went after the Duke of *Buckingham*, as Lord High Constable, though going before him. For *Barons* went (in this Royall Procession, at the Kings Coronation) before *Bishops*, *Bishops* before *Viscounts*, *Viscounts* before *Earls*, the meaner before the greater Officers of State. Thus the Lord Constable (though the last) was the first, because, of all Subjects, nearest to the person of the Sovereign. It seemeth the dayes were very long when the Animadverto<sup>r</sup> wrote these causles cavills, which being now grown very short, I cannot afford so much time in confuting them.

This his cavilling mindeth me; of what he hath mistaken in his Geography. For, the younger son of an English Earl comming to *Geneva*, desired a *Carp* for his dinner, having read in the Doctor's Geography, that the *Lemman Lake* had plenty of the *Fish*, and the best and biggest of that kind. The people wondred at his desire of such a dainty, which that place did not afford; but told him, That they had *Trouts* as good and great, as any in *Europe*. Indeed, learned \* *Gesner* doth observe, that the *Trouts* caught in this *Lake*, sent to, and sold at *Lions*, are mistaken for *Salmons* by strangers, unacquainted with their proportions. It seems the Animadverto<sup>r</sup>'s Pen is so much given to cavilling, that he turned *Trouts* into *Carp*, though none of them so great, as this his *CARP* at me, for making the *Lord Marshall* to go before the Lord Constable, at the King's Coronation.

\* De Piscibus in voce Trutta.

Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, Ibid. That the Kings Train being six yards long of Purple Velvet, was held up by the Lord Compton, and the Lord Viscount Dorchester. That the Lord Compton was one of them which held up the Kings Train, I shall easily grant he being then Master of the Robes, and thereby challenging a right to perform this service. But that the Lord Viscount Dorchester was the other of them, I shall never grant, there being no such Viscount at the time of the Coronation. I cannot say, but that Sir Dudley Carlton might be one of those which held up the Train, though I am not sure of it. But sure I am, that Sir Dudley Carlton was not made Baron of *Imber-court*, till towards the latter end of the following Parliament of Anno 1626. nor created Viscount Dorchester untill some years after.

Fuller.

It is a meer mistake of the Printer; for Viscount Dorchester, son of (and now himself) the Earl of *Carlisle*, whose Father having a great Office in the Wardrobe, this place was proper for him to perform. All will presume me knowing enough in the Orthography of his Title, who was my Patron when I wrote the Book, and whom I shall ever, whilst I live, deservedly honour, for his great bounty unto me.

Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, fol. 122. The Lord Arch-bishop did present his Majesty to the Lords and Commons, East, West, North, South; asking their minds four severall times, if they did consent to the Coronation of King Charles their lawfull Sovereign. This is a piece of new State-doctrine, never known before, that the Coronation of the King (and consequently his Succession to the Crown of England) should depend on the consent of the Lords and Commons, who were then assembled; the Coronation not proceeding (as he after telleth us) till their consent was given four times by Acclamations.

Fuller.

I exactly follow the Language of my worthy Intelligencer, a Doctor of Divinity, still alive, rich in Learning and Piety, present on the place, and an exact observer of all passages; and see no reason to depart from



to depart from it. I am so far from making the *Coronation* of the *Sovereign* depend on the *consent* of his *Subjects*, that I make not the *Kingly power* depend on his *Coronation*, who, before it, and without it, is lawfull and effectually *King* to all purposes and intents. This was not a *consent* like that of the *Bride* to the *Bride-groom*, the want whereof doth null the *Marriage*; but a meer ceremoniall one, *in majorem Pompam*; which did not make, but manifest; not constitute, but declare his *power* over his *people*. So that the *King* got not one single mite of *Title* more, than he had before this *four-fold Acclamation*.

## Dr. Heylyn.

And this I call a piece of new *State-Doctrine*, never known before, because I find the contrary in the *Coronation* of our former *Kings*. For in the form and manner of the *Coronation* of *King Edward 6.* described in the *Catalogue of Honour*, set forth by *Thomas Mills* of *Canterbury*, Anno 1540, we find it thus. "The *King* being carried by certain noble *Courtiers* in another *Chair*, unto the *four sides* of the *Stage*, was by the *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury* declared unto the *people* (standing round about) both by *Gods* and *Mans Lawes*, to be the *right* and lawfull *King* of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and proclaimed that *day* to be *Crowned*, *Consecrated*, and *Anointed*: unto whom he demanded, Whether they would obey and serve, or not? By whom it was again with a loud cry answered, *God save the King*, and, *Ever live his Majesty*. The same we have in substance, but in fewer words, in the *Coronation* of *King James*, where it is said, that "The *King* was shewed to the *People*, and that they were required to make acknowledgement of their allegiance to his Majesty by the *Arch-Bishop*; which they did by acclamations. Assuredly, the difference is exceeding vast betwixt obeying and consenting; betwixt the *Peoples acknowledging their allegiance* and promising to obey and serve their lawfull *Sovereign*, and giving their consent to his *Coronation*, as if it could not be performed without such consent.

## Fuller.

The hinge of the controversy turneth on the criticall difference betwixt these two phrases.

Acknowledging their allegiance  
to their *Sovereign*.

Giving consent to his  
*Coronation*.

The *Animadversor* endeavours to widen the distance betwixt them, and make the difference vast, yea, exceeding vast, against the will of the words, which are well inclined to an agreement, there being a *Vicinity*, yea, *Affinity*, betwixt them, since such who will not acknowledge their *Allegiance*, will not give consent to his *Coronation*; and such who will consent thereunto, will acknowledge their *allegiance*.

I refer my self wholly in this difference to the *Arbitration* of *Mr. Mills*, the same *Author* and *Edition* cited by the *Animadversor*, who speaking of the ancient form of the *Coronation* of the *Kings* of *England*, in reference to this passage, thus expresseth himself.

\* After the *King* hath a little reposed himself in the *Chair* or *Throne*, erected upon the *Scaffold*, then the *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury* shall go unto the *four squares* of the *Scaffold*, and with a loud voice, Ask the good liking of the *people*, concerning the *Coronation* of the *King*. \* *Mills*' Cat. 1. of Honour, pag. 51.

Small, I am sure, is the difference betwixt consenting and good-liking. However, the *Kings Coronation*, though following after, did not depend on such consent, good-liking, or acknowledging of *Allegiance*; seeing amongst our *English Kings*, an *Usurper's Title* was not the better with, nor a lawfull *Prince's* the worse without, such ceremonies of *State*.

## Dr. Heylyn. pag. 202.

Nor had the late *Arch-Bishop* been reproacht so generally by the common people,

people, (and that reproach publish'd in severall Pamphlets) for altering the King's Oath at his Coronation, to the infringing of the Liberties, and diminution of the Rights of the *English* Subjects; had he done them such a notable piece of service, as freeing them from all promises to *obey* and *serve*, and making the Kings Coronation to depend on their *consent*. For Bishop *Laud* being one of that Committee, which was appointed by the King to review the form and order of the Coronation, to the end it might be fitted to some Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, which had not been observ'd before; must bear the greatest blame in this alteration, (if any such alteration had been made as our Author speaks of) because he was the principall man whom the King relied on in that business.

#### Fuller.

This proceedeth on the former foundation, which being false, and confuted, the superstructure sinketh therewith.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

But our Author tells us in his Preface, that this last Book, with divers of the rest, were written by him, when the *Monarchy* was turn'd into a *State*.] And I dare believe him. He had not else so punctually conform'd his language to the *State-doctrin*, by which the making (and, consequently, the unmaking) of Kings is wholly vested in the People, according to that *Maxim* of *Buthanan*, *Populo jus est, imperium cui velit deferat*; than which, there is not a more pestilent and seditious passage in his whole Book, *De jure Regni apud Scotos*, though there be nothing else but treason and sedition in it.

#### Fuller.

What I wrote in this point, I wrote in my PREFACE, that it might be obvious to every Eye; viz. That the first three Books of my *Church History* were for the main written in the *Reign* of the late King; the other nine, since *Monarchy* was turn'd into a *State*.

My language in the latter Books forbeareth such personall passages, on the King and his Posterity, which in his life-time were, as consistent with my loyalty, as since inconsistent with my safety. I will instance in one of them.

Church-History, Book 3. Page 52.

*Some of whose Offspring [King John's] shall flourish, in free and full power on the English Throne, when the Chair of Pestilence shall be burnt to ashes; and neither Tripple Crown left at Rome to be worn, nor any Head there which shall dare to wear it.*

But if the *Animadverſor*, or any by him employed, can in any my nine last Books discover a syllable, sounding to the disparagement of the Kings person or power, to any impartiall Ear, let me, who so long fed on the King's large diet, be justly famished for my unthankfulness.

As for *Buchanan*, as I admire his Poetry, so I dislike his Divinity, especially in this point; desiring that his Principles may never come South the River *Tweed*; and, if offering it, may be drowned in their passage.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, f. 123. *Then as many Earls and Barons as could conveniently stand about the Throne, did lay their hands on the Crown on his Majesty's head, protesting to spend their bloods to maintain it to him and his lawfull Heirs.* ] A promise faithfully performed by many of them, some losing their lives for him in the open field, others exhausting their Estates in the defence of his; many more venturing their whole fortunes by adhering to him to a confiscation: A Catalogue of which last we may find subscribed to a Letter, sent from the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled in *Oxford*, to those at *Westminster*, Anno 1643. And by that Catalogue we may also see, what and who they were, who so ignobly



ignobly brake faith vvith him: all those whole names we find not in that subscription, or presently superadded to it, being to be reckoned amongst those, who instead of spending their blood to *maintain the Crown to Him, and to his lawful Successors*, concurred vvith them either *in opere*, or *in voto*, who despoiled him of it. And to say truth, they were revvarded as they had deserved, the first thing which was done by the House of Commons (after the King, by their means, had been brought to the fatal Block) being to turn them out of povver, to dissolve their House, and annul their priviledges, reducing them to the same condition vvith the rest of the Subjects.

*Fuller.*

I behold all this *Paragraph* as a *Letter* sent to me vvhich requires no Answer, (onely I bear the *Animadvertor* witness, that it is delivered) seeing I was none of the *Lords* on either Side. But I am not altogether satisfied in the Adequation of the *Animadvertor's* Dichotomy to all the *English Nobility*, That all not subscribing the *Catalogue* at *Oxford*, must instantly be concluded on the opposite Party; believing, that upon serious search, some *Lords* would be found in their *Minority*, and not necessarily reducible to either of these heads.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

*Footsteps of his moderation, content vvith the enjoying vvithout the enjoying their private practices and opinions on others.]* This comes in as an inference onely on a former passage, in which it is said of *Bishop Andrews*, that *in vvhat place soever he came, he never pressed any other Ceremonies upon them, than such as he found to be used there before his coming*. Though othervvise condemned by some for many superstitious Ceremonies and superfluous Ornaments used in his private Chappell. How true this is, I am not able to affirm.

*Fuller.*

The *Animadvertor* (if so disposed) might soon have satisfied himself in this point, being Benefited in *Hampshire*, the last Diocesse of *Bishop Andrews*. And though his institution into his Living was since the death of that worthy Prelate; yet his information in this particular had been easie, from the aged Clergy of his Vicinage. Sure I am, he ever was inquisitive enough in matters, vvhi. h might make for his advantage; so that his not denying, tantamounteth to the affirming of the matter in question.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

I am less able (if it should be true) to commend it in him. It is not certainly the office of a carefull Bishop, onely to leave things as he found them, but to reduce them, if amiss, to those Rules and Canons, from which, by the forwardness of some to innovate, and the connivance of others at the innovations, they had been suffered to decline.

*Fuller.*

I comply cordially vvith the *Animadvertor* in all this last Sentence. Only I add, That it is also the office of a good Bishop, not to endeavour the Alteration of things well settled before. This was the constant practice of Doctor *Andrews*, successively Bishop of *Chichester*, *Ely*, and *Winchester*, who never urged any other Ceremonies, than what which he found there. Now whereas the *Animadvertor* saith, that *if this should be true, he is not able to commend it in him*; the matter is not much, seeing the actions of *Bishop Andrews* are able to commend themselves.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

And for the Inference it selfe, it is intended chiefly for the late Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; against whom he had a sting before in the fourth Book of this

Histo-

History, not noted there, because reserved to another place, of which more hereafter. Condemned here for his want of moderation, in enjoying his private practices and opinions on other men. But first, our Author had done well to have spared the man, who hath already reckoned for all his errors, both with God and the world.

Fuller.

He hath so, and I hope, what he could not satisfy in himself, was done by his Saviour. But first, the *Animadverſor* had done well to have spared his censure on my intentions, except he had better assurance of them. Here I must, *Reader*, appeal to an higher than thy self, Him who can read the secrets of my heart, before whom I protest, That in this passage I did not reflect in any degree on the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. To make this the more probable, know, the Articles of his Visitation were observed to be as moderate, as any Bishops in *England*.

Here let me enter this *Memorable*, and let the *Animadverſor* confute it, if he can. There was a designe of the thirty six Dissenters (of whom hereafter) in the *Convocation*, to obtain, that these Articles of his Visitation might be *precedent* to all the Bishops in *England*, as being in themselves inoffensive, and containing no Innovations. This was by some communicated to Arch-Bishop *Laud*, who at first seemed to approve thereof; and how it came afterwards to miscarry, I am not bound to discover.

I confess, this my expression did eye another person, related to Bishop *Andrewes*, whom I forbear to name, except by the *Animadverſor's* reply unto me I be forced thereunto.

Dr. Heylyn.

And secondly, it had been better if he had told us, what those private practices and opinions were, which the Arch-Bishop, with such want of moderation, did enjoy on others.

Fuller.

They are reckoned up in my *Church-History*, Book 11. pag. 174. parag. 47 & 48. This is direction enough, and there one may find more than a good many of such opinions and practices. On the self-same token, that it was discreetly done of the *Animadverſor* to pass them over in silence, without a word in their defence or excuse. I will not again here repeat them, partly because I will not revive what in some sort is dead and buried; and partly, because I charitably believe, that some engaged therein, and still alive, are since sorry for their over-activity therein.

Dr. Heylyn.

For it is possible enough, that the opinions which he speaks of, might be the publick Doctrines of the Church of *England*, maintained by him, in opposition to those private opinions, which the *Calvinian* party had intended to obtrude upon her. A thing complained of by *Spalato*, who well observed, that many of the opinions both of *Luther* and *Calvin*, were received amongst us, as part of the Doctrine and Confession of the Church of *England*; which otherwise he acknowledged to be capable of an Orthodox sense. *Præter Anglicanam Confessionem (quam mihi ut modestam prædicabant) multa video Lutheri & Calvini dogmata obtruisse*, as he there objects.

Fuller.

I am not bound to stand to the judgment of *Spalato*, who would not stand to his own judgment; but first in heart, then in body, went back into *Egypt*. Lay not such unparzoury salt in my aisle, but cast it to the *Dunghill*.

Dr. Heylyn.

He that reads the *Gag*, and the *Appello Cæsarem* of Bishop *Monague*, cannot but



but see, that those *opinions* which our Author condemned for *private*, were the true Doctrine of this Church, professed and held forth in the Book of Articles, the Homilies, and the Common-Prayer-Book.

*Fuller.*

He that reads the Answers returned by severall Divines to the Books of *Bishop Montague*, cannot but see, that they were rather *private opinions*, than the true and professed Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

Here, *Reader*, I cannot but remember a passage betwixt two Messengers, sent to carry *Defiances* from severall Armies, who, meeting in the mid-way, (though naked, and without Swords, yet) to manifest their zeal to their Cause, fought it out with their *Trumpets*, till, both being well wearied, they went about their business, leaving the main success to be tried by their Armies.

Historians are beheld in the notion of Heralds. And, seeing the *Animadversor* and I have now clashed it with our *Trumpets*, let us leave the rest to be disputed and decided by those learned and pious persons, who publickly in Print have engaged therein, and who have (or may in due time) meet together in blis and happiness. In my *Fathers house* are (though no wall of partition) many *\*mansions*; severall receptacles (as some suppose) for *Martyrs*, *Confessors*, *\* Joh. 14. 2:* &c. and vvhy not for such, as, dissenting in the superstructures, concur in holy life, and the *fundamentals* of Religion?

*Dr. Heylyn.*

And it is possible enough, that the practices which he speaks of, were not *private* neither, but a reviver of those antient and publick usages, which the Canons of the Church enjoined, and by the remissness of the late Government had been discontinued. But for a justification of the practises (the private practises he speaks of) I shall refer him to an Author of more credit with him. Which Author, first, tells us of the Bishops generally, "That being of late years either careless or indulgent, they had not required, within their Diocesses, that strict obedience to Ecclesiasticall Constitutions, which the Law expected; upon which, the Liturgy began totally to be laid aside, and in conformity the uniform practise of the Church. He tells us, secondly, of Arch-Bishop *Abbot* in particular, That his extraordinary remissness, in not exacting a strict conformity to the prescribed orders of the Church, in point of Ceremony, seemed to dissolve those legall determinations, to their first principle of indifferency, and led in such an habit of in conformity, as the future reduction of those tender conſcienced mens too-long-discontinued obedience, was interpreted an innovation. And finally, he tells of Arch-Bishop *Laud*, who succeeded *Abbot* in that See, that, being of another mind and mettle, he did not like, that the externall Worship of God should follow the fashion of every private fancy; and what he did not like in that subject, as he was in State, so he thought it was his duty to reform. To which end, in his Metropolitickall Visitation, he calls upon all, both Clergy and Laity, to observe the Rules of the Church. And this is that which our Author calls, the *enjoyning of his private practises*; private perhaps in the *private opinion* of some men, who had declared themselves to be professed enemies to all publick Order.

*Fuller.*

I have cause to give credit unto *\*him*, who, to the lustre of his antient and noble extraction, hath added the light of Learning, not as his profession, but as his *\* H. Le Strange* *Esq;* *complishment*, whereby he hath presented the Publick with an handsome History, likely to prove as acceptable to Posterity, as it hath done to the present Age. The Gentleman, in that his passage, reflecteth onely on such Ceremonies, as stood in force by Canon, but had been disused; with whom I concur. But the controversie in hand is about additionall Ceremonies, enjoyed by no Canons,

nons, (save some mens over-imperious commanding, and others over-officious complying) justly deserving the censure of *private practises*.

**Dr. Heylyn.**

Our Author proceeds, fol. 127. *A Commission was granted unto five Bishops, (whereof Bishop Laud of the Quorum) to suspend Arch-Bishop Abbot from exercising his authority any longer, because un-canonically for casuall Homicide.* Had our Author said, that Bishop Laud had been one of the number, he had hit it right, the Commission being granted to five Bishops, viz. Dr. Montain, Bishop of London, Dr. Neil Bishop of Durham, Dr. Buckeridge Bishop of Rochester, Dr. Hewson Bishop of Oxford, and Dr. Laud Bishop of Bath and Wells; or to any four, three, or two of them, and no more then so. Had Bishop Laud been of the *Quorum*, his presence and consent had been so necessary to all their Consultations, Conclusions, and dispatch of businesses, that nothing could be done without him; whereas by the words of the Commission, any two of them were empowered, and consequently all of them must be of the *Quorum*, as well as he; which every Justice's Clerk cannot chuse but laugh at.

**Fuller.**

They will soon cease their laughter at the sad story I am about to relate. But be it premised, that here I use the word *Quorum* not in the *legall strictness* thereof, but in that *passable sense* in common discourse; viz. for one so active in a business, that nothing is (though it may be) done without him therein.

When the *Writing for Arch-Bishop Abbot's suspension* was to be subscribed by the Bishops aforesaid, the four *Seniors*, viz. London, Durham, Rochester, and Oxford, all declined to set their hands thereunto, and (seemingly at the least) shewed much *reluctance* and *regrete* thereat. Then *give me the Pen* (said Bishop Laud) and though *last in place*, first subscribed his name. Encouraged by whose words and example, the rest, after some demur, did the like.

This was attested to me by him who had best cause to know it, the *aged and credible Register*, still alive, who attended in the place upon them. This I formerly knew, but concealed it; and had not published it now, if not necessitated thereunto in my just defence.

**Dr. Heylyn.**

Nor is there any such thing as a casuall *Homicide* mentioned, or so much as glanced at in that Commission, the Commission onely saying, "That the said Arch-Bishop could not at that present in his own person attend those services, which were otherwise proper for his Cognizance and Jurisdiction; and which, as Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, he might and ought in his own person to have performed and executed. I am loth to rub longer on this sore, the point having been so vext already betwixt the *Historian* and the *Oservator*, that I shall not trouble it any further.

**Fuller.**

I confess, *casuall Homicide* not expressly mentioned, but implied in the Commission. Otherwise what did those words import **COULD NOT in his person attend**? It was not any *indisposition of body*, being then, and some years after, in health; not *impotency in his Intellect*, (caused from the influence of age) who afterwards, when older, discharged this place, (as the *Animadversor* confesseth). Though therefore the *bill of Homicide* was onely shown, the *blade* was *shak't in the sheath*. Sure I am, that some, the nearest about the Arch-Bishop, have informed me, that he interpreted, that **UN-COULDING him**, solely to relate to his *canonically Irregularity* on the Accident aforesaid, and was dejected accordingly.

Dr.



Dr. Heylyn.

Onely I must crave leave to rectifie our Author in another passage, relating to that sad accident.

Fuller.

To rectifie is to make that streight which was crooked before; and it is an act of no less charity, than skill and cunning well to perform it. Onely fools, can be fond of their own deformity. I do not onely desire, but delight, to have the crookedness of my knowledge streightned, provided alwaies, it be done in the spirit of meekness. But I understand, such as streighten crooked persons, beyond the Seas, put them to much torture. Likewise fear, that the Animadversor will lay so much weight of ill words upon me, that the profit I shall reap, will not counter-vail the pain I must endure in my rectification.

Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author saith, Ibid. *It would be of dangerous consequence to condemn him by the Canons of forrain Councils, which were never allowed any Legislative power in this Land.*] Which words are very ignorantly spoken, or else very improperly.

Fuller.

Did I not foretell aright, that my rectification would cost me dear? even the burden of bad words. Here I have a dolefull Dilemma pretended unto me, to confesse my self speaking, either very ignorantly, or very improperly. But might not one of these two VERY's have very well been spared? Well, *è malis minimum*, if it must be so, that my choice must be of one of these, let it be rather but Impropiety, than Ignorance.

But, Reader, I see no necessity of acknowledging either, but that my words are both knowingly and properly spoken; and now to the triall.

Dr. Heylyn.

For if by *Legislative power*, he means a power of making Lawes, as the word doth intimate, then it is true, That the Canons of forrain Councils had never any such power within this Land: But if by *Legislative power* he means, a Power or Capability of passing for Lawes within this Kingdom; then (though he use the word improperly) it is very false, that no such Canons were in force in the Realm of England. The Canons of many forrain Councils, Generall, Nationall, and Provinciall, had been received in this Church, and incorporated into the body of the Canon-Law, by which the Church proceeded in the exercise of her Jurisdiction, till the submission of the Clergy to King Henry the Eighth. And, in the Act confirmative of that submission, it is said expressly, "That all Canons, Constitutions, Ordinances, and Synodals Provinciall, as were made before the said Submission, which be not contrary or repugnant to the Laws, Statutes, and Customs of this Realm, nor to the damage or hurt of the Kings Prerogative Royall, were to be used and executed as in former times, 25 H. 8. c. 19. So that unlesse it can be proved, that the proceedings in this case, by the Canons of forrain Councils was either contrary or repugnant to the Laws and Customs of the Realm, or to the damage of the Kings prerogative Royall, There is no dangerous consequence at all to be found therein.

Fuller.

By *Legislative power* of the Canons of forrain Councils, I understand their power to subject the People of our Nation to Guiltiness, and consequently to Penalties, if found infringing them. Now I say again, such forrain Canons, though not against, but onely besides our Common Law; and containing no repugnancy, but disparateness to the Lawes of our Land; either never had such

power

power in England since the Reformation, or else disuse long since hath antiquated it, as to the rigid exercise thereof.

For instance, a Bishop I am sure, and I think a Priest too, is, in the old Canons, rendred *irregular*, for playing a game at Tables, Dice being forbidden by the Canons. Yet I conceive, it would be hard measure, and a thing, *de facto*, never done, that such *irregularity* should be charged on him, on that account.

We know it was the project of the Pope and Papall party, to multiply Canons in Councils, meerly to make the more men, and men the more obnoxious unto him, that they might re-purchase their innocence at the price of the Court of Rome. I believe, the *Animadvertor* himself would be loth to have his canonicalness tried by the Test of all old Canons, made in *rigorem disciplinae*, yet not contrariant to our Laws and Customs, seeing they are so nice and numerous, that *Cautiousnesse* it self may be found an *offendor* therein. I resume my words, That it would be of dangerous consequence to condemn the Arch-Bishop by Canons of forraign Councils, which never obtained power here, either *quoad reatum*, or *pœnam*, of such as did not observe them.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

But wherees our Author adds in some following words, That ever since (he means ever since the unhappy accident) he had executed his jurisdiction without any interruption:] I must needs add, That he is very much mistaken in this particular. Dr. Williams, Lord Elect of Lincoln; Dr. Carew, Lord Elect of Exeter; and Dr. Laud, Lord Elect of St. Davids, and, I think, some others, refusing to receive Episcopall Consecration from him on that account.

#### Fuller.

Must the *Animadvertor* needs add this? I humbly conceive no such necessity, being but just the same which I my self had written before.

Church-History, Book 10. Pag. 88.

Though some squemish and nice-conscienced Elects scrupled to be consecrated by him.

But I beheld this as no effectuall interrupting of his Jurisdiction, because other Bishops, more in number, (no whit their inferiour) received Consecration, Dr. Davenant, Dr. Hall, and King Charles himself his Coronation from him.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

Far more mistaken is our Author in the next, when he tells us, fol. 128. Though this Arch-bishop survived some years after, yet hence-forward he was buried to the world,] No such matter neither: For, though for a while he stood confined to his house at Ford, yet neither this Confinement, nor that Commission, were of long continuance; for about Christmas, in the year 1628. he was restored both to his Liberty and Jurisdiction, sent for to come unto the Court, received as he came out of his Barge by the Arch-Bishop of York, and the Earl of Dorset, and by them conducted to the King; who giving him his hand to kiss, enjoined him not to fail the Councill-Table twice a weeke. After which time we find him sitting as Arch-Bishop in Parliament, and in the full exercise of his Jurisdiction till the day of his death, which happened on Sunday, August the 4th. 1633. And so much of him.

#### Fuller.

An Historian may make this exception, but not a Divine; my words being spoken in the language of the \* Apostle, The world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world. I had said formerly, that the Keeper's death was this Arch-Bishop's mortification. But from this his Suspension (from the exercise of his Jurisdiction) he was in his own thoughts buried, it reviving his obnoxiousness for his former casuall Homicides; so that never he was seen hartily (if at all) to laugh hereafter, though I deny not, Much Court-favour was afterwards (on designe) conferred on him. Here

\* Gal. 6. 14.



Here I hope it will be no offence to insert this innocent story ; partly to shew how quickly *tender guiltiness* is dejected, partly to make folk cautious, how they cast out gaulling speeches in this kind. This Archbishop returning to *Croidon*, (after his late absence thence a long time) many people, moit women, (where- of some of good quality for good will) for *novelty* and *curiosity* crouded about his Coach. The Archbishop being unwilling to be gazed at, and never fond of *Females*, said, somewhat churlishly, *What make these women here? You had best,* (said one of them) *to shoot an arrow at us.* I need not tell the Reader how neare this second arrow went to his heart.

### Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author goeth on. Fol. 137. *My pen passing by them at present, may safely Salute them with a God-Speed as neither seeing nor suspecting any danger in the Designe]* Our Author speaks this of the *Feoffees*, appointed by themselves, for buying-in such Impropriations, as were then in the hands of Lay-persons. I say, appointed by themselves; because not otherwise authorised, either by Charter from the King, Decree in Chancery, or by Act of Parliament; but only by a secret combination of the Brother-hood.

But secondly, this will further appear by their proceedings in the businesse, not laying the Impropriations, by them purchased, to the Church or Chappelry to which they had anciently belonged, nor settling them on the Incumbent of the place, as many hoped they would. That had been utterly destructive to their main design, which was not to advantage the Regular and established Clergy, but to set up a new body of *Lecturers* in convenient places, for the promoting of the *Cause*. And therefore having bought an Impropriation, they parcelled it out into annual Pensions of 40 or 50 *l. per annum*, and therewith salared some Lecturers in such Market-Towns, where the people had commonly lesse to do, and consequently were more apt to Faction and Innovation, than in other places. Our Author notes it of their Predecessors, in *Cartwrights* dayes, that they preached most diligently in *populous places*; it being observed in England, that those who hold the Helm of the Pulpit, *alwayes steer peoples hearts as they please*, Lib. 9. fol. 195. And he notes it also of these *Feoffees*, that in conformity hereunto, they set up a Preaching Ministry in places of greatest need; not in such Parish-Churches, to which the Tithes properly belonged, but where they thought the Word was most wanting, that is to say, most wanting to advance their project.

Thirdly, if we behold the men whom they made choice of, and employed in preaching in such Market-Towns as they had an eye on, either because most populous, or because capable of electing Burgeses to serve in Parliament, they were for the most part *Non-conformists*, and sometime such as had been silenced by their Ordinary, or the High-commission, for their Factious carriage. And such an one was placed by *Geering*, one of the Citizen-Feoffees, in a Town of *Glocestershire*; a fellow which had been outed of a Lecture near *Sandwich* by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, out of another in *Middlesex* by the Bishop of *London*, out of a third in *Yorkshire* by the Archbishop of *York*, out of a fourth in *Hartfordshire* by the Bishop of *Lincoln*, and finally suspended from his Ministry by the High-Commission; yet thought the fittest man by *Geering* (as indeed he was) to begin this Lecture.

Fourthly and finally, these Pensions neither were so settled, nor these Lecturers so well established in their severall places, but that the one might be withdrawn, and the other removed, at the will and pleasure of their Patrons, if they grew slack and negligent in the *holy cause*, or abated any thing at all of that fire and fury they first brought with them. Examples of which I know some, and have heard of more. And now I would fain know of our Author, whether there be no danger to be seen or suspected in this design; whether these Feoffees in short time would not have had more Chaplains to depend upon them, than all the Bishops in the Kingdom; and finally, whether such needy fellowes de-

pending on the will and pleasure of their gracious Masters, must not be forced to Preach such Doctrines onely as best please their Humours. And though I shall say nothing here of their giving under-hand private Pensions, not onely unto such as had been silenced or suspended in the Ecclesiasticall Courts, but many times also to their wives and Children after their decease, all issuing from this common-stock: yet others have beheld it as the greatest piece of Wit and Artifice both to encourage and encrease their Emissaries, which could be possibly devised. If, as our Author tells us, fol. 143. *The Design was generally approved, and that both discreet and devout men were doleful at the ruine of so pious a Project*; it was because they neither did suspect the danger, nor foresee the mischiefs, which unavoidably must have followed, if not crushed in time.

#### Fuller.

The Feoffees being now all Dead, save \* one, I may say that in this Suit all the Councell is for the *Plantiffe*, and none allowed the *Defendant*. Were any number of them still alive, probably they might plead something in defence of their Proceedings.

\* I am infor.  
med C. Offspring  
is still alive.

However I believe, this Narrative of the Animadvector, hath very much of Truth therein, and seeing it is not *Opposite* but *Additional* to what I have written, my Answer is not required thereunto. Onely the close thereof treadeth on the Toes of my History and that but lightly too; the Animadvector not denying that, *discreet and Devout men were dolefull at the ruine of so pious a Project*. And seeing he went so far with my words, would he had gon a little farther? and added, that such Good men were desirous of a *Regulation* of this *Design*; it being pittie that so fair a Tree, should be rent up *Root and Branch*, for bearing bad, which might and would have born better fruit, with a little good *digging* about it, and well husbanding thereof.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, fol. 148. *However, there was no Express in this Declaration, that the Ministers of the Parish should be pressed to the publishing.* Our Author doth here change his style. He had before told us, That on the first publishing of the Declaration about lawfull Sports on the Lords Day, no Minister was, *de facto*, enjoyned to read it in his Parish, lib. 10. fol. 76. and here he tells us, that there was no exprels order in the Declaration, (when reviv'd by King Charles) that the Minister of the Parish should be prest to the publishing of it; adding: *vithall*, that many thought it a more proper work for the Constable or Tithing-man, than it was for the Minister. But if our Author mark it well, he may easily find, that the Declaration of King James was commanded to be published *by order from the Bishop of the Diocess, through all the Parish-Churches of his Jurisdiction*. And the Declaration of King Charles to be published with like order *from the severall Bishops, through all the Parish-Churches of their severall Diocesses respectively*. The Bishop of the Diocess in the singular number, in the Declaration of King James, because it principally related to the County of Lancaster: The Bishops in the plurall number, in that of King Charles, because the benefit of it was to be extended over all the Realm. In both, the Bishops are commanded to take order for the publishing of them in their severall Parishes; and whom could they require to publish them in the Parish Churches, but the Ministers onely? The Constable is a *Lay-Officer*, meerly bound by his place to execute the Warrants and Commands of the *Justices*, but not of the Bishop. And though the Tithing-man have some relation to Church-matters, and consequently to the Bishop, in the way of *presentments*; yet was he not bound to execute any such Commands, because not tyed by an Oath of *Canonick Obedience*, as the Ministers were. So that the Bishops did no more than they were commanded, in laying the Publication of these Declarations on the backs of the Ministers: and the Ministers by doing less than they were required, *infring'd* the Oath which they had taken, rendring themselves thereby obnoxious to all such



such Ecclesiasticall Censures, as the Bishops should inflict upon them.

**Fuller.**

I said, That there was no *Express* order in the Declaration, that the Minister of the Parish should be *pressed to the publishing of it*.

Now the *Animadverſor* hath done me the favour, to prove my words to be true, acknowledging the Declaration onely enjoyned, *That the Bishop of the Diocess should order the publishing thereof, through all the Parishes in his Jurisdiction: And so consequently (as the Animadverſor inferreth) the Ministers must do it.* Hereby the truth of my words do appear, that there was no *express command*, seeing an *EXPRESS*, and an *INFERENCE* are two things of a different nature.

Whereas I said, *That many thought it a more proper work for the Constable or Tithing-man, then for the Minister.* There are thousands now alive which will justifie the truth thereof. Yea, their *thoughts* (which otherwise I confesse came not under my cognizance) expressed themselves in their *words*, wherewith they affirmed and professed the same.

**Dr. Heylyn.**

It seems that in our Authors judgment, it was well done by the Judges for the County of *Somerset*, to impose upon the Ministers of that County (over whom they could challenge no authority) to publish their own Declarations against *wakes and Feasts*; and that it was well done of the Ministers to obey the same, for which see fol. 147.] These Bishops are beholden to him, for giving greater power to the Judges and Justices over his brethren of the Clergy, then he yields to them; and as much beholden are the Clergy, for putting so many *Maſters* over them instead of a *Father*. The difference of the case will not serve the turn, the King having a greater power to indulge such freedom to his Subjects, then the others could pretend unto, to restrain them from it. If he object, that the Ministers are most unfit to hold the Candle, to lighten and let in licentiousness, as he seems to do; he must first prove, that all, or any of the sports allowed of, in those Declarations, may be brought within the compaſs of licentiousness, which neither the Word of God, nor the Canons of the Christian Church, nor any Statutes of the Realm had before forbidden. Lastly, whereas he tells us, *That because the Judges had enjoyned the Ministers to read their Order in the Church, the Kings Declaration was enforced by the Bishops to be published by them in the same place.*] There is no such matter. The Declaration of King James appointed to be read, and read by order of the Bishop in the Parish Churches, doth evince the contrary.

**Fuller.**

I did not say, The Judges *did well*, or *did ill* therein; but I said, The Judges *did order*, that the Ministers should publish their Declaration against *wakes and Feasts*. I have not (nor can quickly procure) a copy of their order, whether it were mandatory or, by way of advice, did desire Ministers to do that, which might be advantageous to Religion. But I will not judge the Judges, but leave them (as best skilled in their own faculty) to make good their own acts.

If such *Grantees* in the Law exceeded their bounds in this their *injundion* to Ministers, (over whom they had no command) how many mistakes should I run into, if once offering to meddle with this matter, being out of my profession? And therefore no more thereof.

**Dr. Heylyn.**

Now for our Authors better satisfaction in the present point, I shall lay down the judgment of one so high in his esteem, (and once in the esteem of that party too) that I conceive he will not offer to gainsay him. It is the Author of the Book, called the *Holy Table, Name, and Thing*, who resolves it thus:

“ All

"All the commands of the King (saith he) that are not upon the first inference and illation (without any Prosyllogisms) contrary to a clear passage in the Word of God, or to an evident Sun-beam of the Law of Nature, are precisely to be obeyed. Nor is it enough to find a remote and possible inconvenience that may ensue therefrom; (which is the ordinary objection against the Book of Recreations) for every good subject is bound in conscience to believe and rest assured, that his Prince (envitoned with such a Councell) will be more able to discover, and as ready to prevent any ill sequel, that may come of it, as himself possibly can be. And therefore I must not by disobeying my Prince commit a certain sin, in preventing a probable but contingent inconveniency. This if it were good Doctrine then, when both the Author and the Book were cryed up even to admiration, is not to be rejected as false Doctrine now; truth being constant to it selfe, not varying nor altering with the change of times.

Fuller.

I want no satisfaction, I thank God, in the point; and therefore the *Animadvertor* might have spared his pains. As an Historian, I have truly related, *de facto*, what was done; and though the *Animadvertor* may conjecture at my judgment in this controversie, he cannot be confident thereof by any thing I have written.

All I will add is this, Because *I may write the more, I will write the lesse* of this subject. I have good power to back me for the present in this controversie, and might securely express my self therein.

When my Text shall lead me in my *Vocation* to treat of the *Observation of the Lords Day*, I shall not be sparing to express my opinion therein, and will endeavour (God-vvilling) to justify it. Mean time, I vvill not go out of mine own house, which is my castle; I mean, I will not be drawn out into the open field of a controversie, but keep my self under this COVER, That matters of fact in this difference have been truly related by me: and let the *Animadvertor* disprove it if he can.

Dr. Heylyn.

But our Author will not stop here, he goes on and saith,

Ibid. *Many moderate men are of opinion, that this abuse of the Lords-day was a principal procurer of Gods anger, since poured out on this Land, in a long and bloody Civill war.* And moderate perhaps they may be in apparell, diet, and the like civil acts of life and conversation; but sure, immoderate enough in this Observation: For who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his Counsellor, saith the great Apostle? But it is as common with some men of the newest Religions, to adscribe Gods secret judgements to some speciall Reasons, as if they had the Key which opens into his Cabinet at their severall Girdles; as if they were admitted to all Consultations in the Court of Heaven, before that dreadfull Judge could inflict any temporall Punishment upon Men on Earth. Otherwise they might find the Nation guilty of too many sins, which drew down this vengeance, to adscribe it unto any one sin, (if a sin it were;) and rather wonder at Gods mercy, patience, and long-suffering, in deferring his punishments long, then that he inflicted them at last.

Fuller.

I behold them as *Moderate men* in all Respects. The *Animadvertor* hath used my words, as the King of *Ammon* dealt with the cloaths of *David's* Embassadors, even cutting them off at the middle. Otherwise, might they have but hung down to the ground, no nakednesse had appeared in what I have written, proceeding as followeth;

Church History, Book 11. page 148.

*Such Moderate Men observe that our fights of chief Concernment, [Edge Hill &c.] were*



were often fought on the Lords-Day, as pointing at the punishing of the Profanation thereof.

See here the Reason assigned of their Opinion, as I received it from their mouths. Since, they say, It is one thing with the *Beth-shemites* to pry into the Ark, and another thing, to look on God *Secrets*, in some sort *un-secreted*, when by the Proportion of his Judgments, he sayeth *Come and see*. These also alledge for themselves, that the Patriarks, sensible of their hard usage from the Governour of *Egypt*, did not pry into Gods Mysticall Pleasure, when concluding it inflicted on them, for their Cruelty to their Brother *Joseph*; Therefore is this distresse come upon us. However I wholly concur with the Animadvertor in his last Sentence, as truly and favourably written. Onely I dissent from Him, in that Passage,

(if a Sin it were;)

Surely, He meaneth not, if the Profanation of the Lords-Day were a Sin, which is above all *Iff's*. Rather his sense is, If the using of such Sports were a Profanation of the Lords Day.

But mens Corruption is more prone to acquit themselves when guilty, than to suspect themselves when guiltless.

*Parce precor Stimulis, & fortius atere Loris.*

*Spurs I pray refrain;*

*Rather use the Reine.*

I need not mind the Animadvertor, how penal it is by the late Act, for any to write any thing against the strict Observation of the Lords Day; and believe, he Intended nothing Prejudiciall to the same: yet Profaness probably too soon (besides his intention) may improve it selfe on his words, alter his *Si* into *Non*; and by the next Return, turn his note of *Dubitation* into an absolute *Negation*, on which account the *Parenthesis* had been better forborn, in my Opinion.

Dr. Heylyn.

And though our Author doth object against this Opinion of those Moderate men, that to pick a solemn Providence out of a common Casualty, savours more of curiosity then conscience, yet he dares not stand to it; confessing within few lines after, that there may be more in the Observation than what many are willing to acknowledge. ] If so, there may be as much conscience as curiosity in the Moderate Men.

Fuller.

As I stand not wholly to it, so I run not any whit away from it, but dubiously propound it, hoping the Reader will account me not the lesse constant in my Judgement, but the more cautious in my language, in not being positive in an Observation of this nature.

Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds Folio 151. If moderate men had had the managing of these matters about the Posture of the Lords Board (call it Table or Altar) the Accommodation had been easie with a little Condescension on both sides. ] Why then did not these moderate men interpose themselves for taking off those needless Animosities, and putting an end unto the Quarrell? The Presse was open on both sides; John, Lincoln, Deane of Westminster, who appear'd so strongly in the Cause, thinking himselfe as well able and well qualified to license a Book unto the Presse, as either the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London.

Fuller.

I said it, and say it again, and any who have Honesty and Learning (the Animadvertor only excepted) will say so too; that those differences were easily capable of Accommodations with a little Condescension on both sides. It will not be long before the Animadvertor will tell us, that the Controversies betwixt us

E e e

and

and the Church of Rome, (consisting most, as he saith, in *Superstructures*) may be comprised: and if (to use his owne Words) the *Petulancy* of the *Puritans* on the one side, and the *Pragmaticalness* of the *Jesuites* on the other side were charmed a while, moderate men might possibly have agreed on equall termes.

Now this seemeth a strange thing to me, that moderation may make Protestants agree with Papists in matters *Docrinall*; and cannot make Protestants agree with Protestants in matters *Ceremoniall*. Being the same plaister, why hath it not equall vertue; especially, the latter being the lesser wound? Can the difference of *Transubstantiation* be taken up betwixt us and the Papists, and not the setting of the *Communion-Table* betwixt our selves? Can a crack be closed in a Jewell, and a rent not mended in the Case? These things I confesse transcend my apprehension.

Now that no moderate man stood up in the gap to make up this breach, I can assigne no other cause, save, That God, justly offended with our Nation, had not so great a favour for it, but suffered a *Pustle* to fester into an *Ulcer*; not from any *insanability* in the soar, but want of *seasonable Surgery*; and let the guilt thereof (that the burden may be the better born) be equally divided, betwixt both parties engaged therein.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

If all else failed, why did not our Author undertake, and make himself the Moderator in that trifling controversy, which seems to have been so easie to be brought to an accommodation?

#### Fuller.

The jeer shall go for nothing. The reason why the Author undertook not to be Moderator in the Difference, was, because he was \*Ελαχιστότερος, (and if there be a more *subter-superlative*) the least of the least of his brethren. However, herein the Author comforteth himself, That as it was above his power to cure, so it was against his will to widen the wound; and being quiet in his calling, concurred not to the inflaming of the mutuall Animosities.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

Make himself Moderator in that [trifling controversy.]

#### Fuller.

The Animadvertor his unfair dealing with me, minds me of a passage in Cambridge. One made a [pretended] extemporary Confutation, of his Position against whom he disputed, which indeed was onely premeditatedly made against the Question, confuting many things which the Answerer never spake. And when the Answerer, causlessly charged, pleaded for himself, *Nihil tale occurrebat in Positione meâ* the other replied, *Debit occurrere tamen*. I never said, that the controversy about placing of the *Communion-Table*, was a trifling controversy; but it seems I should have said so, that the Animadvertor might have had an advantage against me. This I said, That the controversy might easily have been reconciled with mutuall moderation; but trifling, I never termed it. And therefore the Animadvertor, fighting with his own shadow, it is all one to me whether he beat or be beaten.

Yet I doubt not, but there are many in this Nation, my betters in all respects, who will be bold to call it a *Trifling controversy*, if not absolutely, yet comparatively, to many *Docrinall* differences of higher concernment; and, in respect of the great troubles caused thereby, far above the *considerableness* of the thing which was in contest.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

The question was about the placing of the *Communion-Table*, whether it ought to stand in the middle of the Church, or Chancel, with one end towards the



the East great Window, like a common Table; or close up to the Eastern-wall, with ends North and South, according as the Altars had been placed in the former times. They that maintained the last opinion, had Authority for it, that is to say, the Injunctions of the Queen, Anno 1599. the Orders and Advertisements of the year 1562. and 1565. the constant practice of the Chappels in his Majestie's Houses, most of the Cathedrall, and some of the Parochiall Churches; and finally, a Declaration of the King, Anno 1633. commending a conformity in the Parish-Churches to their own Cathedralls. They on the other side stood chiefly upon discontinuance, but urged withall, that some Rubricks in the Common-Prayer-Book seemed to make for them. So that the question being reduced to a matter of fact, that is to say, The Table must stand this way, or it must stand that way; I would fain know, how any Condescension might be made on either side, tending to an accommodation, or what our Moderator would have done to atone the differences.

### Fuller.

The Dr. hath clearly, briefly, and truly stated the Controversie, whose pen was formerly conversant therein, and by his owne acknowledgment both sides had much to say for themselves.

Onely I wonder that though the Question was reduced to matter of Fact, it should be made by him of so high Importance; That either no condescension could be made on either side, or such Condescension (if made) must prove ineffectuall as to an accommodation.

Is there no balme in Gilead? Hath not the spirit of God endowed his servants with such discretion, but they may compramise a difference of greater Moment?

### Dr. Heylyn.

Suppose him sitting in the Chair, the Arguments on both sides urged, and all the Audience full of expectation which side would carry it. The Moderator Fuller of old merry Tales then ordinary, thus resolves the businesse, That he had heard it commended for a great piece of wisdom in Bishop Andrews, "That wheresoever he was a Parson, a Dean, or a Bishop, he never troubled Parish, Colledge, or Diocesse, with pressing of other Ceremonies upon them, than such which he found used there before his coming thither. That King James finding the Archbishop of Spalato in a resolution of questioning all such Leases, as had been made by his Predecessors in the Savoy, gave him this wise counsell, *Relinque res sicut eas invenisti*; That he should leave things as he found them. That the said King being told by a great Person, of the inverted situation of a Chappell in Cambridge, made answer, That it did not matter how the Chappell stood, so their hearts who go thither were set aright in Gods service. But for his part, he liked better of the resolution of Dr. Prideaux, (his brother in the Chair at Oxford) who being troubled with his neighbours of Kidlington, about the setting up of a May-pole, some being for it, and some against it, thus resolved the case; You, saith he, that will have a May-pole, shall have a May-pole; And you that will have none, shall have none. And that according to that pattern, he thought best to accommodate the present Controversie to the same effect, viz. You that will have an Altar, shall set up your Altar; and you that will have a Table, shall have but a Table. Which sentence, whether it would have pleased all parties, I do somewhat doubt; but sure I am, it had not tended to the advancement of that uniformity, which was then designed.

### Fuller.

The Animadvertor here makes a Professor's Chaire; and, having solemnly set me down therein, puts words into my mouth, and makes an Oration for me, as Moderator in the present Controversie, with a jeer to boot on the memory of the Reverend Doctor Prideaux.

But

Plal. 1. 1.

But know, there is another *Chaire*, which *David* calls the *Chaire* of the scorn-fall; and it is to be feared, that the Animadvertor in this point is too neare sitting down therein.

If I should retaliate, and accordingly place the Animadvertor in a *Chair*, and fit him with a *Speech* personating him proportionable to his principles, possibly I might render him as Ridiculous, but most of all should abuse my self and my owne profession therein.

I thank God I can, though plainly, yet pertinently enough to my purpose, speak to expresse the notions of my mind. And when God shall take speech from me, (if my reason still remain) I shall rather with *Zacharias* make signes for writing-tables to write in, than to have words put into my mouth, forced and feigned on me by the Animadvertor. Let him thank God that he can speak so well for himselfe. And I will be content as well as I can, to utter my owne conceptions.

It would never have come into my Mind to have compared the Table of the Lord to a May-pole; the Wood of the one grew in Paradise, not so the other, being a light, and Ludicrous, and too often profane, stock of wood. I hope that the principles of my Education will restraine me from prophaneesse in such unfitting parallels.

Whereas the Animadvertor sayes that an *Expedient* would not have tended to that *Uniformity*, that was designed herein, before God and Man, I will speak out my thoughts. That *multiformity* with *mutuall* Charity advanceth Gods Glory as much as *Uniformity* it selfe in matters meerly indifferent; which as the Pipes of an Organ may be of severall length and bignesse, yet all tuned into good harmony together.

I will instance in the Observation of Easter, the great Controversie betwixt the Easterne and Westerne Church in the Observation thereof; betwixt that which I may call *Style Orientall*, and *Style Occidentall* for the Date thereof. And I verily believe that God was equally honoured by both, by such as Religiously observed it.

#### Dr Heylyn.

But from these moderate men, which were so in contemplation onely, let us proceed to one who was such in practise, (the Lord Bishop of London) of whom he saith; fol. 150. *He had a perfect command of his passion, an happiness not granted all Clergy-men in that Age, though Privy-Counsellors.*] So perfect a man of his own passion and affections, that he will not think himself honoured with a commendation, which comes accompanied with the disparagement of his chiefest friend; (for that this lash was made for the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, no wise man can doubt.) Our Author might have spared the dead, without any wrong to the living; but that he thinks no *Topick* to usefull in his *Logick*, as the rule of Contraries. *Contraria juxta se positi magis elucescunt.* Upon which ground, the better to set off Bishop Andrews, this poor Archbishop must be charged with want of moderation, in enjoyning his own private practises and opinions upon other men. And here, that Bishop Juxon might appear with the greater lustre, the said Arch-bishop with all his passions and infirmities, must stand by for a foil. He had indeed no such command upon his passions, as to be at all times of equall temper, especially when wearied with the businesse of the Councill-Table, and the High-Commission. But as he was soon hot, so he was soon cool'd; and so much is observed by Sir Edward Dering, though his greatest adversary, and the first that threw dirt in his face in the late long Parliament; who telleth us of him, that the roughness of his uncourtly nature sent most men discontented from him; but so, that he would often (of himself) find waies and means to sweeten many of them again, when they least looked for it. In this, more modest then our Author; who gives us nothing of this Prelate but his vnants and vweaknesses. But of this reverend Prelate, he will give cause to speak more hereafter.

Fuller.



## Fuller.

There were other Clergy men Privy-Counsellors beside *Arch-Bishop Laud*: *Dr. Abbotts, Neil, Harfnet, Williams, &c.* And therefore the *Animadvertors* Collection of my words cannot be conclusive in Reference to *Arch-Bishop Laud*:

I confesse else where I do reckon Anger amongst his personall imperfections, which a Historian may do without any wrong at all, (The spirit of God saying, \* *Elias was subject to like passions as we are*); I am confident as angry as *Arch-Bishop Laud* was, He would not have bin angry with me for writing of it, as sensible of and sorrowfull for his owne imperfection therein. Jam. 5. 17.

I am much of the mind of *Sr. Edward Dering*, that the roughnesse of his un-court-like nature, sweetned many men when they least looked for it, surprizing some of them, (and my selfe for one) with unexpected Courtesies. But whereas I am accused for giving in nothing of this Prelate, but his wants and vveaknesses, it vvill not be long before my innocence herein vvill appeare.

## Dr. Heylyn.

Let us now on unto another of a different judgment, his profest enemy, *Mr. Prin*; of whom, thus our Author, [fol. 157.] *Mr. William Prin was born about Bath in Glostershire, &c. and began with the writing of some Orthodox Books.* In this story of *Mr. Prin* and his sufferings, our Author runs into many errors, which either his love to the man, or zeal to the good cause, or carelesnesse of what he writes, have brought upon him.

## Fuller.

If I have run into so many errors, it will be charity in the *Animadvertor* fairly to lead me back again a foot-paſſe into the truth, and then he shall have thanks for his pains: alwaies provided, he doth not pinch me by the arm as he conducteth me, which will turn my thanks into anger. But seeing the *Animadvertor* careth for both alike from my hands, let him do as he pleaseth.

Next we have his tripartite History of my errors, which he will have to proceed from one of these three causes.

1. Love to the person of *Mr. Prin*. To whom I professe I have no fondnesse, but likeing the *Motto* of *Luther*, *In quo aliquid Christi video, illum diligo*, I must on that account have a kindness for him.

2. Zeal to their good cause; which I behold as a jeer, and treading on the toes of Scripture, *Galatians 4. 18.* It is good to be zealously affected alwaies in a good thing.

3. Carelesnesse of what I write.

But seeing now the *Animadvertor's* hand is in his *Arithmetick*, in counting of causes of my mistakes, his charity might have found a fourth, (worth all the other three) and imputed my errors to that infirmity, which alwaies attendeth human nature. However, let us proceed.

## Dr. Heylyn.

Whereas our Author telleth us, that *Mr. William Prin* was born about Bath in Gloucester-shire, Bath is not in Gloucester-shire, but a chief City in the County of Somerset.

## Fuller.

These are ANI-MAD-VERSIONS indeed, when a wyiter's words are madly verted, inverted, perverted, against his true intent, and their Grammaticall sense.

My words run thus, *Mr. William Prin was born (about Bath) in Gloucester-shire*; where Bath is walled about with a Parenthesis, not essentiall to the Sentence, thus perfect without it, *Mr. William Prin was born in Gloucester-shire*. These walls the *Animadvertor* hath most disingenuously dismantled, to lay Bath open, and, if possible,

sible, to bring it into *Glocester-shire*, that so he may have something to cavil at me.

Indeed *Bath* is not *in*, but *within* three miles of *Glocester-shire*; and the next eminent place to — the *Village* of Mr. *Prin's* nativity. When Towns stand in the confines of two Counties, is it not proper enough to say, Such a one was born (about *London*) in *Surrey*, though *London* be in *Middlesex*; or (about *Windsor*) in *Buckingham-shire*, though *Windsor* be in *Bark-shire*?

Mr. *Fox* writing in his own defence, against such as traduced him; Some, saith he, do not cavill, because they have found fault; but do find faults, because they may cavill: And be it reported to the Reader, whether the *Animadverſor* may be accounted one of them. And now the *Animadverſor* having a little refreshed himself in my *Crosse-Bath*, and somewhat pleased his spirit of opposition, he thus proceedeth.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

Secondly, whereas he saith, that he began with the writing of some *Orthodox Books*] Though I look on Mr. *Prin*, (so far forth as I am able to judge, by some Books of his not long since published) as a man of a far more moderate spirit, than I have done formerly; yet can I not think his first Books to have been so *Orthodox* as our *Author* makes them. For not to say any thing of his *Perpetuity*, &c.

#### Fuller.

But I must and will say something of his *Perpetuity of the Regenerate Man his Estate*, as being that which is particularly named in my Margin, and chiefly intended by me. A Book, wherein an usefull, necessary, and comfortable Truth is learnedly defended. A Book, which will perpetuate the memory of the Writer; who, had he proceeded, and continued, as he began, none could have took just exception at, or got just advantage against him.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

As for the Books of Mr. *Prin*, entituled, *Lame Giles his Haltings*, *Cozen's cozening Devotions*, and his *Appendix* to another, they have many things repugnant to the Rules and Canons of the Church of England. No greater enemy against bowing at the Name of Jesus, nor greater enemy to some Ceremonies, here by Law established. In which particulars if our *Author* think him to be *Orthodox*, he declares himself to be no true son of the Church of England.

#### Fuller.

I confess, in this his numerous offspring, his younger children were nor so vigorous as his first born, termed in the \* Scripture the might and beginning of their fathers strength; they were of a weaker and sicker constitution, and some passages in them I do not approve. I hope to acquit my self so airtfull a son to the Church of England, that, when in a reverent posture I shall crave her blessing, she will give it me in as full and free a manner and measure, as to the *Animadverſor* himself.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

Thirdly, the Book called *Historio-Mastix*, was not writ by Mr. *Prin* about three years before his last sufferings, as our *Author* telleth us, for then it must be writ or published Anno 1634. whereas indeed that Book was published in Print about the latter end of 1632. and the *Author* Censur'd in *Star-Chamber* for some passages in it about the latter end of the year 1633. Otherwise, had it been as our *Author* tells us, the punishment must have preceded the offence; and he must suffer for a Book, which was not published at that time, and perhaps not written. But our *Author* hath a speciall faculty in this kind, which few Writers have.

#### Fuller.

The *Animadverſor* hath a speciall faculty in cavilling without cause. My Clock of time strikes true enough, but that he is minded not to tell it aright. My words



words are, *Some three years since*; which word *SOME*, foundeth an *interpretative plus minus* to all ingenuous Ears. Besides, this is our opposite marginall Note, (containing the contents of that Paragraph) *Mr. Prin accused for Libelling against Bishops*; which accusation was about two years before this his last *Censure*, (during which time he was imprisoned). And my *SOME three years* are to bear date (in the construction of any impartiall Reader) from that his accusation; and then nothing is *mis-timed*, but falleth out in due season.

And now, Reader, judge, where the many errors be into which I have run, in the story of *Mr. Prin* and his *sufferings*, seeing *no one mistake* can be produced and proved against me. And seeing the *first Book* of *Mr. Prin* was found in it self, in my opinion; and his *last Books* more moderate, even in the judgment of the *Animadvertor*; and his *midling Books* (how faulty soever) such for which he hath severally suffered; let us even take a fair farewell of *Mr. Prin* and his *Books*, and so proceed.

### Dr. Heylyn.

Now as our Author post-dateth his *Histrio-Mystix*, by making it come into the world two years after it did; so he ante-dates a Book of *Dr. White*, then Lord Bishop of *Ely*, which he makes to be publiht two years sooner then indeed it was. That Book of his, entituled, *A Treatise of the Sabbath*, came not out till *Michaelmas, Anno 1635*, though placed by our Author as then written, *Anno 1633*. for which, see fol. 144.

### Fuller.

In answer hereunto, May the Reader be pleased to take notice of these particulars.

1. The revived controversie, *Lords-Day*, lasted ten years, bandied with books from 1628. till 1638.
2. I was loath to scatter my Book with it, but resolved on one intire Narrative thereof.
3. I fixed on the yeare 1633. therein to insert the same, because the middle Number, from the rising to the sinking of the difference, then came to the very heat and height thereof.
4. Hence my *Narrative* retreated some years back to 1628. when *Bradborn* began the difference.
5. Hence also it sallied forth to the year 1635. (when Bishop *White's* book was set forth) and beyond it.
6. The date of the yeare 1633. stands still unmoveable on my Margin; the whole Relation, being for the reasons aforesaid entered under it. So that nothing is offered to the Reader unjoynted in Time, if I be but rightly understood.

### Dr. Heylyn.

Next unto *Mr. Prinne*, in the course of his *Censure*, comes the *Bishop* of *Lincoln*, the cause whereof we have in our Author, who having left a blank, fol. 156. for somewhat which he thinks not fit to make known to all, gives some occasion to suspect that the matter was far worse on the Bishops side than perhaps it was. And therefore to prevent all further misconstructions in this businesse, I will lay down the story as I find it thus, viz. "The Bishop's purgation depending chiefly upon the testimony of one *Prideon*, it happened, that the *February* after, one *Elizabeth Hodson* was delivered "of a base child, and laid to this *Prideon*. The Bishop finding his great Wit-  
"ness charged with such a load of filth and infamy, conceived it would in-  
"validate all his testimony, and, that once rendred invalid, the Bishop could  
"easily prognosticate his own ruine; therefore he bestirs himself again. And  
"though by order of the Justices at the publick Sessions at *Lincoln*, *Prideon*  
"was charged as the reputed father, the Bishop by his two Agents, *Powel* and  
"Owen, procured that Order to be suppressed; and by subornation and men-  
"cing

"cing of, and tampering with, Witnesses; at length in *May*, 10 *Car.* procured  
 "the child to be fathered upon one *Boon*, and *Prideon* acquit. Which lewd  
 "practises, for the supplantation of his favourite's credit, cost the Bishop, as he  
 "confest to Sir *John Munson* and others, twelve hundred pounds; so much di-  
 "rectly, and by consequence much more.

#### Fuller.

\* Before his  
 Time, he was  
 about to be-  
 gin a new  
 Section and  
 Dedication  
 as appears by  
 the TO in  
 Text.

I have concealed nothing herein of Moment, (the Blank being in-  
 significant, and the mere mistake of the \* Printer) and expect no considerable  
 addition from the Animadvertor, having in my Book truly and clearly stated  
 the Bishops Cause, from the best Records.

I appeal to the unpartiall *Perusers* of what I wrote, whether by this *Note*,  
 any thing of moment is added to the matter in hand, except the naming  
 of a *light housewife*, (which I conceived beneath my *History*) the rest being truly  
 by me related before.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

But to proceed: the cause being brought unto a censure, fol. 157. *Secretary*  
*Windebank* motioned to degrade him; which (saith he) was lustily pronounced by a  
*Knight* and a *Lay-man*, having no precedent for the same in former Ages.] But first,  
 it is not very certain that any such thing was moved by Sir *Francis Windebank*.  
 A manuscript of that daies proceedings I have often seen, containing the De-  
 cree and Sentence, with the substance of every Speech then made; and amongst  
 others, that of Sir *Francis Windebank*, in which I find no motion tending to a  
 Degradation, nor any other punishment inflicted on him, than Fine, Suspend-  
 sion, and Imprisonment; in which the residue of the Lords concurred, as we  
 find in our Author.

#### Fuller.

It is very certain, he moved it, and I avow it from honourable Eyes and  
 Ears. The *Animadvertor* misguides the reference of those my words, [having  
 no precedent for the same in former Ages,] making them relate to the *Bishop's De-*  
*gradation*, (whereof one precedent since the *Reformation*, *Unus homo nobis*) which  
 indeed refer to the *Knight's* and *Lay-man's* first mentioning thereof, which is  
 unprecedented I am sure, that such a person should FIRST make such a motion  
 against a Bishop.

I confess, at *Bp. Middleton's* Degradation, some of the *Lay-Privy-Counsellors*  
 were present, but acted little therein, (so, far from FIRST mentioning of it)  
 onely concurring with the Court, the matter being chiefly managed by *Arch-*  
*bishop Whitgift*, and some other *Bishops* and *Deans* the *Commissioners*, as most pro-  
 per persons to pals such a censure on one of their own profession.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

Secondly, it had been more strange if the Knight had not been a *Lay-man*,  
 the Church of *England* not acknowledging any Order of Spirituall Knight-  
 hood. Knights in Divinity are greater strangers in this Land, then *Lay-Divines*,  
 these last being multiplied of late, even *ad infinitum*; the first, never heard of.

#### Fuller.

The *Pleonasm* of the addition of *Lay-man* to *Knight*, is not so culpable in it  
 self, but that it might have passed without censure; and let not the *Animad-*  
*vertor* be over-confident herein.

I have been credibly informed, that Sir *Miles Sandys*, (third son to *Edwin*  
*Arch-bishop of York*) Fellow of *Peter-house* in *Cambridge*, and Proctor of the Uni-  
 versity, Anno 1588. was made a *Deacon*, (and so no meer *Lay-man*) and in his  
 younger years a *Prebendary* of *York*. Within this twenty years there was one  
 Mr.



Mr. *Seaton* beneficed in *Hartfordshire*, a Scottish-man, and at this day a Knight. But the matter being of no more moment, let us proceed.

Dr. Heylyn.

And thirdly, had it been so mov'd, and so lustily mov'd, as our Author makes it, the Knight and Lay-man might have found a precedent for it in former ages.

Which last clause is to be understood (as I suppose) with reference to the times since the Reformation: For in the former times, many precedents of like nature might be easily found. And being understood of the times since the Reformation, it is not so infallibly true, but that one precedent of it, at the least, may be found amongst us. *Marmaduke Middleton* advanced to the Bishoprick of *St. Davids*, Anno 1567. after he had sat in that See three and twenty years, was finally condemned (for many notable misdemeanors) not onely to be deprived of his Bishoprick, but degraded from all holy Orders. Which sentence was accordingly executed by and before the High-Commissioners at *Lambeth-house*, not only by reading of it in *Scriptis*, but by a formal divesting of him of his Episcopall Robes, and Priestly Vestments, as I have heard by a person of good credit, who was present at it. And somewhat there is further in the story of this *Marmaduke Middleton*, which concerns the Bishop now before us; of whom our Author telleth us further, That being prest by two Bishops, and three Doctors, to answer upon Oath to certain Articles, which were tendred to him in the Tower, he utterly refused to do it, claiming the privilege of a Peer, fol. 159. Which plea was also made by the said Bishop of *St. Davids*, offering to give in his Answer to such Articles, as were fram'd against him, on his Honour onely, but refusing to do it on his Oath. Which case being brought before the Lords, then sitting in Parliament, was ruled against him; it being ordered, that he should answer upon Oath, as in fine he did. To this Bishop let us joyn his Chaplain, Mr. *Osbolstone*, who being engag'd in the same Bark with his Patron, suffered shipwrack also, though not at the same time, nor on the same occasion; Censured in *Star-Chamber* not onely to lose his Ecclesiasticall Promotions, but to corporall punishments.

Fuller.

In my weak judgment, the *Animadvertor* had better have omitted this passage (of this Bishop's Degradation) in this juncture of time, wherein the *repute* of that *Function* runs very low, and their adversaries too ready to take all advantage to disgrace it. The rather, because Bishop *Godwin* taketh no notice at all thereof, but *beginneeth, continueth, and concludeth* the life and death of this Bishop in lesse then *two lines*. *Marmaduke Middleton* translated from Ireland, died Novemb. 30th. 1592.

Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceedeth, fol. 166. But this last personall penalty he escaped, by going beyond Canterbury, conceived seasonably gone beyond the Seas, whilst he secretly concealed himself in London. ] And he had scap't the last penalty, had he staid at home. For though Mr. *Osbolston* at that time conceived the Archbishop to be his greatest enemy, yet the Archbishop was resolved to thew himsef his greatest friend, assuring the Author of these Papers (before any thing was known of Mr. *Osbolstons* supposed flight) that he would cast himsef at the Kings feet for obtaining a discharge of that corporal punishment unto which he was sentenced. Which may obtain the greater credit; First, in regard that no course was taken to stop his flight, no search made after him, nor any thing done in Order to his apprehension. And secondly, by Mr. *Osbolstons* readinesse to do the Archbishop all good Offices in the time of his troubles, upon the knowledge which was given him (at his coming back) of

G g g

such

such good Intentions. But of these private men enough; passe we now to the publick.

*Fuller.*

Whether or no he was fought after, I know not; this I know, he was not taken: and more do commend his warinesse in his flight, than would have praised his valour for staying, in hope his Punishment should be remitted. It had been most Mercy to stop the *denouncing*, but was a good *after-game of pitty* to stay the *inflicting* of so cruell a *censure* on a *Clergyman*. As the *Animadvector*, then, had the *Credit* to know; so the *Author*, now, hath the *Charity* to believe, the Arch-Bishops good resolution.

However I cannot forget, that when the Sentence in the Star-Chamber, passed on Bishop *Williams*, (where he concurred with the highest in his Fine) He publicly professed, that He had fallen *five times down on his knees* before the King in the Bishop's behalf, but to no purpose. It might be therefore suspected that his intention to do it *once* for Mr. *Osbolston* might not have taken effect. And therefore, had the Arch-Bishop's good resolution been known unto him, Mr. *Osbolston* might most advisedly conceale himselfe.





## Lib. XI. Part. II.

Containing the last 12. Years of the Reign of  
King Charles.

Dr. Heylyn.

**A**Nd now we come to the last and most unfortunate Part of this King's Reigne, which ended in the Losse of his owne Life, the Ruine of the Church, and the Alteration of the Civill Government. Occasioned PRIMARILY, as my Author saith, by sending a new Liturgy to the Kirk of Scotland.

Fuller.

I deny such a Word that I said the Liturgy did PRIMARILY occasion the war with Scotland: Rather the cleane contrary may (by Charitable Logick) be collected from my words, when having reckoned up a Complication of Heart-burnings amongst the Scots, I thus Conclude,

Church-History. Book 11. Page. 163.

"Thus was the Scottish Nation full of discontents, when this Book being brought unto them bare the Blame of their breaking forth into more dangerous designs:  
"as when the Cup is brim-full before, the LAST (though LEAST) superadded drop is charged alone to be the Cause of all the running over.

Till then that the Word PRIMARILY can be produced out of my Book, let the Animadverſor be beheld PRIMARILY, as One departed from the Truth; and SECONDARILY as a Causelesse accuſer of his Brother.

Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, Folio. 160. *Miseries caused from the sending of the Book of Service, or new Liturgy thither which may sadly be termed a Rabrick indeed dyed with the blood of so many, of both Nations slaine on that Occasion.* Our Author speakes this in Relation to the Scottish Tumults, Anno 1637. In telling of which Story he runs (as commonly elsewhere) into many Errours. For first those Miseries, and that blood-shed was not caused by sending the Liturgy thither &c.

Fuller.

Seeing the Animadverſor denies the Liturgy to have had any Causall influence on the Scots war, I must manifest my dissent from his Judgement; and here I crave the Reader's leave to be his humble Remembrancer of the Kinds of Causes, so far as they conduce to the clearing of the present Controversie.

Causes are twofold, Solitary or Totall *omni causa*; or Joynt and fellow Causes *per eandem causam*. The latter againe is twofold, *Prolegumena* [long leading before] and inwardly disposing and inclining to Action; or *Procatartica* (called also *Causa irritatrix* or *Primitiva provocans*) which is outwardly impulsive to Action.

The former is tearmed by Physicians, *Causa Antecedens*; the latter *Causa Evidens* of a disease. Thus in a Fever, corrupt humours bred within and without the Veines, are the Antecedent cause thereof: whilst, being in the hot Sun, walking in the South-wind &c. stopping the Pores, and stirring the ill Humours to heat, may be the evident cause of a Fever.

I thus apply it: The *inward discontents* of the Scots on severall accounts (which follow on the next Paragraph) were the *Antecedent causes* of their war; whilst the *evident Cause* thereof, was the *Obtruding* the *Liturgy* upon them. And so much for my cleare sense in this Controversie.

Dr. Heylyn.

The Plot had been laid long before upon other grounds, that is to say, Questioning of some Church Lands, then in the hands of some great Persons, of which they feared a *Revocation to the Crown*. And secondly, the manumitting of some poor subjects from the tyranny and vassallage which they lived under, in respect of their Tithes, exacted with all cruelty and injustice by those, whom they call the Lords of *new erection*. Which Plot so laid, there wanted nothing but some popular occasion for raising a Tumult first, a Rebellion afterwards; and this occasion they conceived they had happily gain'd, by sending the *new Liturgy thither*, though ordered by their own Clergy first, as our Author tells us, at the Assembly of *Aberdeen, Anno 1616.* and after at *Perth, Anno 1618.* and fashioned for the most part by their own Bishops also. But of this there hath so much been said between the *Observer* and his *Antagonist*, that there is nothing necessary to be added to it. Secondly, there was no such matter as the *passing of an Act of Revocation*, for the restoring of such Lands as had been alienated from the Crown, in the minority of the Kings Predecessors, of which he tells us, fol. 192. The King indeed did once intend the passing of such an Act, but finding what an Insurrection was likely to ensue upon it, he followed the safer counsell of Sir *Archibald Acheson*, by whom he was advis'd to sue them in his Courts of Justice. Which course succeeding to his wish, so terrified many of those great persons, who had little else but such Lands to maintain their Dignities, that they never thought themselves secure, as long as the King was in a condition to demand his own. Thirdly, though it be true enough, that some persons of honour had been denied such higher Titles as they had desired, fol. 163. yet was it not the denying of such Titles unto Men of Honour, which wrought these terrible effects; but the denying of an honorary Title to a man of no honour. If Colonel *Alexander Lesly*, an obscure fellow, but made rich by the spoils and plunder of *Germany*, had been made a Baron when he first desired it, the rest of the malecontents in *Scotland* might have had an heart, though they had no head. But the King not willing to dishonour so high a Title, by conferring it on so low a person, denied the favour: Which put the man into such a heat, that presently he joyned himself to the faction there, drove on the plot, and finally undertook the command of their Armies. Rewarded for which notable service with the Title of *Earl of Lennox* by the King himself, he could not so digest the injury of the first refusall, but that he afterwards headed their Rebellions upon all occasions.

Fuller.

Little opposition against, some variation from, and more addition unto what I have written, is herein contained: Which if tending to the Reader his clearer information, I am right glad thereof, and wish him all happinesse therein.

Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, fol. 163. *Generally they excused the King in their writings, as innocent therein, but charged Arch-bishop Laud as the principall, and Dr. Coulins as the instrumentall compiler thereof.* This is no more then we had reason to expect from a former passage, lib. 4. fol. 193. where our Author telleth us, that the *Scottish Bishops* withdrew themselves from their obedience to the *See of York*, in the time when *George Nevil* was Arch-bishop. And then he adds, *Hence-forwards no Arch-bishop of York medled more with Church-matters in Scotland; and happy had it been, if no Arch-bishop of Canterbury had since interressed himself therein.* His stomach is so full of choller against this poor Prelate, that he



he must needs bring up some of it above an hundred years before he was born.

Fuller.

What could more calmly be written? Perchance some cold flegme, but nothing of choller is in the expression. I say again, It had been happy for King, Queen, Royall Issue, Church, State, the Arch-bishop himself, Animadverſor, Author, Reader, All England.

Dr. Heylyn.

Hence is it, that he takes together all reports which makes against him, and sets them down in rank and file in the course of this History. If Arch-bishop Abbot be suspended from his Jurisdiction, the blame thereof was laid on Arch-bishop Laud, as if, not content to succeed, he endeavoured to supplant him, fol. 128. The King sets out a Declaration about lawfull Sports, the reviving and enlarging of which must be put upon his account also, some strong presumptions being urged for the proof thereof, fol. 147. The reduction of the Church to her antient Rules, and publick Doctrines, must be nothing else but the enjoying of his own private practises and opinions upon other men, fol. 127. And if a Liturgy be compos'd for the use of the Church of Scotland, Who but he must be charged to be the Compiler of it?

Fuller.

If all the places here cited are passed already, they have received their severall Answers; if any of them be to come, they shall receive them, God-willing, in due time: that so for the present we may be silent, to prevent repetition.

Dr. Heylyn.

But what proofs have we for all this? Onely the malice of his enemies, or our Authors own disaffection to him, or some common fame. And if it once be made a fame, it shall pass for truth, and as a truth find place in our Author's History, though the greatest falshood. *Tam facilis in mendaciis fides, ut, quicquid fama liceat fingere, illi esset libenter asperere*, in my Author's language. But for the last he brings some proof; (he would have us think so at the least) that is to say, the words of one Bayly, a Scot; whom it concern'd to make him as odious as he could, the better to comply with a Pamphlet, called, *The intentions of the Army*; in which it was declared, That the Scots entred England with a purpose, to remove the Arch-bishop from the King, and execute their vengeance on him. What hand Dr. Couzens had in assisting of the work, I am not able to say. But sure I am, that there was nothing done in it by the Bishops of England, but with the counsel and co-operation of their brethren in the Church of Scotland; viz. the Arch-bishop of St. Andrews, the Arch-bishop of Glasgo, the Bishops of Murray, Ross, Brechin, and Dunblane, as appears by the Book, entituled, *Hidden works of darkness*, &c. fol. 150, 153, 154, &c. And this our Author must needs know, (but that he hath a mind to quarrell the Arch-bishop upon every turn) as appears plainly, 1. By his Narrative of the Designe in King James his time, from the first undertaking of it by the Arch-bishop of St. Andrews, and the Bishop of Galloway then being; whose Book corrected by that King, with some additions, expunctions, and accommodations, was sent back to Scotland. 2. By that unsatisfiedness which he seems to have, when the project was resum'd by King Charls, Whether the Book by him sent into Scotland, were the same which had passed the hands of King James, or not; which he expresseth in these words, viz. *In the Reigne of King Charls, the project was resumed, but whether the same Book, or no, God knoweth*, fol. 160. If so, if God onely know whether it were the same or no, how dares he tell us that it was not? And if it was the same, (as it may be for ought he knoweth) with what conscience can he charge the making of it upon Bishop Laud? Besides, (as afterward he telleth us, fol. 163.) *The Church of Scotland claimed not onely to be Independent, and free as*

any Church in Christendom; a Sister, not a Daughter of England. And consequently the Prelates of that Church had more reason to decline the receiving of a Liturgy impos'd on them, or commended to them by the Primar of England, for fear of acknowledging any subordination to him; than to receive the same Liturgy here by Law establish'd, which they might very safely borrow from their Sister-Church, without any such danger. But, howsoever it was, the blame must fall on him who did least deserve it.

### Fuller.

I will return to my words, which gave the *Animadvector* the first occasion of this long discourse.

*Generally they excused the King in their writings, but charged Arch-bishop Laud.*

I do not charge the Arch-bishop for compiling the Book, but say, The Scots did. Nor do I say, That what they charged on him is true; but it is true, that they did charge it on him. Had I denyed it, I had been a liar; and seeing I affirmed no more, the *Animadvector* is a caviller.

It is observable, that when our *Chroniclers* relate, how Queen Anne Bollen was charged for Incontinency; Margaret Countess of Salisbury, for treasonable compliance with the Pope; Henry Earl of Sarrey, for assuming the Arms of England; Edward Duke of Somerset, for designing the death of some Privy Counsellors; Thomas Duke of Norfolk, for aspiring, by the match of the Queen of Scots, to the English Crown; Robert Earl of Essex, for dangerous machinations against the person of Queen Elizabeth; Thomas Earl of Strafford, for endeavouring to subject England and Ireland to the King's arbitrary Power: That the Historians, who barely report these Persons thus charged, are not bound to make the charge good; it is enough if they name their respective accusers, as here I have named the Scots.

It is also observable, that some of the Persons aforesaid, though condemned and executed, have since found such favour (or justice rather) with unpartial Posterity, that though they could not revive their persons, they have restored their memories to their innocence. And if the like shall be the hap of this Arch-bishop, I shall rejoyce therein; I mean, if the *Animadvector's* defence of him seems so clear, as to out-shine the evidence; so weighty, as to out-poize all allegations, which in printed Books are published against him.

In testimony whereof, I return nothing in contradiction to what the *Animadvector* hath written; and it is questionable, whether my desire that he may, for distrust that he will not, be believed be the greater. Whatever the success be, I forbear farther rejoinder.

To fight with a shadow, (whether one's own or another's) passeth for the proverbiall expression of a vain and useless act. But seeing the dead are sometimes termed shadows, *umbra*, to fall foul on them, without absolute necessity, is an act, not onely vain, but wicked; not onely useless, but uncharitable: And therefore no more hereof.

### Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceedeth, 167. *Thus none, seeing now foul weather in Scotland, could expect it fair Sun-shine in England.* In this I am as little of our Author's Opinion, as in most things else. The Sun in England might have shined with a brighter Beam, if the Clouds which had been gathered together, and threatened such foule weather in Scotland, had been dispersed and scattered by the Thunder of our English Ordnance. The opportunity was well given, and well taken also, had it not been unhappily lost in the Prosecution.

### Fuller.

Grant the Thunder of our English Ordnance, had scattered the Scottish Clouds; yet, (by the confession of the *Animadvector*) there must first be foul weather in England, before there could be such fair weather to follow it. The skies



Skies are alwayes dark and lowring, even whilst the Thunder is Engendering therein. Military preparations, (in order to a Conquest of the Scots) must needs give our Nation great troubles, and (for the time) *un-Sunshine* England, which is enough to secure my Expression from just exception.

## Dr. Heylyn.

The Scots, were then *weak*, unprovided of all Necessaries, not above three thousand compleat Armes to be found amongst them: The English on the other side making a formidable appearance, gallantly Horst, compleatly Armed, and intermingled with the Choicest of the Nobility, and Gentry, in all the Nation.

## Fuller.

I am much of the mind of the *Animadvertor*, that there was a visible Disparity betwixt the two Armies, and the Odds in the eye of flesh, on the side of the English. They were *Gallantly Horst* indeed, whether in Reference to their Horses or Riders, and the King pleasantly said, *It would make the Scots fight against them, were it but to get their brave Cloaths.* Indeed the strength of the Scots consisted in their Reputation to be strong, (reported here by such as Friended them) and the Scotch Lyon was not half so fierce, as he was painted unto us. On the other side, The greatest disadvantage to the English was their owne *injurious Modesty*, observed alwayes to over-prize strangers above themselves, being ignorant of their owne Strength and Valour in War, because they had been so long accustomed to Peace. In all this Paragraph the *Animadvertor* and the *Author* may go abreast in their Judgments; and to prevent Quarrells, the *Animadvertor* shall have the right Hand, that they do not jostle one the other.

## Dr. Heylyn.

And had the Scots been once broken, and their Country wasted, (which had been the easiest thing in the World, for the English Army,) &c.

## Fuller.

This is consonant to what He hath written, of the same Subject in the \* *Short* \* *view of the Life and Reign of King Charls*, that the King set forth against the Scots, accompanied with such an Army of Lords and Gentlemen as might ASSURE him of a cheap and easie VICTORY. His Majesty, I am sure, had, (as it became a good Christian,) a more modest and moderate apprehension of his owne Army, such as might give him pregnant Hopes but no ASSURANCE of Victory. I never heard of an ASSURANCE-Office, for the successe of Battels.

But all this is written by the *Animadvertor* like an *Historian*, but not like a Doctor in Divinity. This mindeth me of a \* Passage of King Henry the Second, \* *Camden's Remains* pag. 250. who standing on the Cliffs about St. David's in Wales, and there viewing Ireland, I with my Ships am able (saith he), to make a Bridge over it, if it be no further: Which speech of his being related to Murchard King of Lemster in Ireland; he demanded, if he added not to his speech [with the Grace of God]: When it was answered that he made no mention of God; Then, said he more cheerfully, I feare him the lesse, which trusteth more to Himselfe, then to the Help of GOD.

When the *Animadvertor* tells us, that it had been the easiest thing in the world for the English to have broken the Scots Army, I must tell him; here was one thing in the world easier, namely the inserting of these words, by God's Ordinary blessing, or something to that purpose. Otherwise we know, who it was that said, that the race \* is not to the Swift, nor the battell to the Strong, neither yet bread to the Wise, \* *Ecclesi. 9. 11.* nor yet riches to men of Understanding, nor yet favours to men of Skill: time and chance happeneth to them all.

Time was, when the *Animadvertor* did needlessly Latish a \* GOD-BLESSE; \* *In these his Animadversions (as by him set forth) thor pag. 8.* God blesse not onely our Historian, but Baronius himselfe, from being held an *Author*

thor of no \* Credit. He that then spent it, when he should have spared it, spares it now, when he should have spent it.

Dr Heylyn.

The Scots had been utterly disabled from creating Trouble to their King; disturbances in their owne Church, and destruction to England. So true is that of the wise Historian, *Conatus subditorum irritos imperia semper promovere*; the Insurrections of the People when they are suppressed, do alwayes make the King stronger, and the Subjects weaker.

Fuller.

All this proceeds (as the former) on the Supposition that the English had beaten the Scots, which though (in the eye of flesh) probable, was uncertain. The Latines and English have the same word MOMENTUM, MOMENT, which signifieth, as Time of the least Continuance, so matters of most Concernment, to shew that the Scales of Success, which God alone holds in his Hand, are so ticklish, that the MOTE of a MOMENT may turne them on either side, which is the reason, why no man can positively conclude of future Contingencies.

Dr. Heylyn.

The Sermon ended, we chose Dr. Stewart Dean of Chichester Prolocutor, and the next day of Sitting, We met at Westminster in the Chappell of King Henry the Seventh. ] Had it not been for these and some other passages of this Nature, our Author might have lost the Honour of being took notice of, for one of the Clerks of the Convocation; and one not of the lowest forme, but passing for some of those wise men, who began to be fearfull of themselves, and to be jealous of that power by which they were enabled to make new Canons. How so? Because it was feared by the Judicious (himself still for one) lest the Convocation, whose power of meddling with Church-matters, had been bridled up for many yeares before, should now, enabled with such Power, over-act their Parts, especially in such dangerous and discontented times, as it after followeth. Wisely fore-seen. But then why did not WEE, that is to say, our Author, and the rest of those wise and Judicious Persons, fore-warne their weak and unadvised Brethren of the present danger; or rather, Why did they go along with the rest for company, and follow those who had before out-run the Canons by their additionall Conformity?

Fuller.

Dear Honour indeed, *Honos Onus*: for which I was fin'd with the Rest of my Brethren two hundred Pounds by the House of Commons, though not put to pay it, partly because it never passed the House of Lords; partly, because they thought it needlesse to shave their Haire, whose Heads they meant to cut-off; I meane, they were so Charitable as not to make them pay a Fine, whose Place in Cathedralles they intended, not long after, to take away.

I insert the word WE, not to credit my self, but to confirm the Reader; relations from an eye and ear-witness, meeting with the best belief. Such insinuations of the Writer, being present at the actions he writeth of, want not precedents in holy and profane Authors. Hence it is collected, that St. Luke accompanied St. Paul in his dangerous voyage to Rome, Act. 27. 37. WE were all in the ship two hundred threescore and sixteen souls.

Let the Animadventor lay what load he pleaseth on me, whose back is broad and big enough to bear it; but O let him spare my worthy friends, some now glorious Saints in Heaven, Bishop Westfield, Dr. Holmsworth; and some of the highest repute still alive, whom I forbear to name. It comforteth me not a little, that God hath chosen — the foolish things of this world to confound the wise.

Dr.



## Dr. Heylyn.

How wise the rest were, I am not able to say. But certainly our Author shew'd himself *no wiser than Waltham's Calf, who ran nine mile to suck a Bull, and came home at bir st,* as the Proverb saith. His running unto Oxford, which cost him as much in seventeen weeks, as he had spent in Cambridge in seventeen years, was but a second fally to the first Knight-Errantry.

## Fuller.

I can patiently comport with the *Animadvertor's Jeers*, which I behold as so many *Frogs*, that it is pretty and pleasing to see them hop and skip about, having not much harm in them: but I cannot abide his *Railings*, which are like to *Toads*, swelling with *venom* within them. Any one may rail who is bred but in BILLINGS-GATE-COLLEDGE: and I am sorry to hear such language from the *Animadvertor*, a Doctor in Divinity; seeing railing is as much beneath a Doctor, as against Divinity.

When Dr. Turner, a Physitian sufficiently known, gave the lie (at the Earl of Pembroke's Table) to the Earl of Carnarvon; *I will take the Lye from you*, (replied the Earl) *but I will never take Physick from you*. If such railing be consistent with the Doctor's Divinity, this once I will take the Calf, but never learn Divinity from him.

Two things comfort me under his reviling: First, that no worse man than David himself complained, that he became a \*PROVERB to his enemies. Second-  
ly, though a Calf be a contemptible creature, passing for the emblem (not with the Dove of simplicity, but) of plain silliness; yet is it a clean one, and accepted of \* God for sacrifice. Whereas the snarling Dog (though a creature of far  
more cunning and sagacity) was so odious and unclean, that by a peculiar  
\* Law it was provided, that the price of a dog should not be brought into the house of  
God. \* Psal. 69.17.  
\* Heb. 9. 19.  
\* Deut. 23. 18.

## Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author thus proceedeth, fol. 168. *Next day the Convocation came together, &c. when, contrary to the generall expectation, it was mentioned to improve the present opportunity, in perfecting the new Canons which they had begun.* I have not heard of any such motion, as our Author speaks of, from any who were present at that time, though I have diligently laboured to inform my self in it: Nor is it probable, that any such motion should be made, as the case then stood. The Parliament had been dissolv'd on Tuesday the 5th. of May; the Clergy met in Convocation on the morrow after, expecting then to be dissolved, and licensed to go home again. But, contrary to that generall expectation, in stead of hearing some newes of his Majesties Writ for their dissolution, there came an Order from the Arch-bishop to the Prolocutor, to adjourn till Saturday. And this was all the businesse which was done that day; the Clergy generally being in no small amazement, when they were required not to dissolve, till further Order. Saturday being come, what then? A new Commission, saith he, was brought from his Majesty, by vertue whereof WE were warranted still to sit, not in the capacity of a Convocation, but of a Synod. I had thought our Author, with his wise and judicious Friends, had better harkened to the tenour of that Commission, than to come out with such a gross and wild absurdity, as this is, to fit for none as Sir Edward Deering, and for him onely, to make sport withall in the House of Commons. At the beginning of the Convocation, when the Prolocutor was admitted, the Arch-bishop produc'd his Majesties Commission under the Great Seal; whereby the Clergy was enabled to consult, treat of, and conclude such Canons, as they conceiv'd most expedient to the peace of the Church, and his Majestic's service. But this Commission being to expire with the end of the Parliament, it became void, of no effect as soon as the Parliament was dissolved. Which being made known unto the King, who was re-

solv'd the Convocation should continue, and that the Clergy should go on in compleating those Canons, which they had so happily begun; He caus'd a new Commission to be sent unto them, in the same words, and to the very same effect, as the other was; but that it was to continue *durante beneplacito* onely, as the other was not.

*Fuller.*

The Reader may take notice, that there is some difference in judgment betwixt the Animadvertor and me; and no wonder then if some (no great, I hope) *variations* betwixt us, in relating the passages of this *Convocation*, each of us observing what made most for his own *interest*. The Reader also may be pleased to use his own discretion, and to credit him, whom he believeth most probable of the *two*, exactly to observe, firmly to remember, and faithfully to relate, what we saw done, (both of us being there) and since borrowing help of our *friends*, then present, where we fall short in our *intelligence*.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

Our Author goes on as followeth, *Ibid.* Dr. Brownrig, Dr. Hacket, Dr. Holdsworth, &c. *with others, to the number of thirty six, earnestly protested against the continuance of the Convocation.*] It's possible enough that Dr. Brownrig, now Lord Bishop of Excester, Dr. Hacket, and the rest of the thirty six, our Author being of the *Quorum*, (in his own understanding of the word) might be unsatisfied in the continuance of the Convocation, because of some offence, which, as they conceiv'd, would be taken at it. But if they had *protested*, and protested earnestly, as our Author tells us, the noise of so many Votes concurring, must needs be heard by all the rest which were then assembled; from none of which I can learn any thing of this *protestation*.

*Fuller.*

I am nothing moved with his jeer, when he calleth me of the *Quorum* in this *Convocation*. *Mithridates King of Pontus* is commonly reported, so habited to the eating of *posson*, that that which was *nauseous* and *noxious* at the first, by custom became *harmless* unto him. I am so used to the *bitter jeers* of the *Animadvertor*, so frequently *laid* in my *dish*, that now they are become *food*, not *physick*, unto me; and the greatest quantity of them will not so much as *stir* my *constitution*, to *anger*.

It seemeth strange to me indeed, that the *Protest* of the *Dissentors* was not heard, by the rest in the *Convocation*; I cannot be so uncharitable, to think them in this point like those of whom the \* *Apostle* speaketh, *ἀνεπίστατοι τῷ ἐλέει, this they are willingly ignorant of*: I impute it rather to their forgetfulness, most of them surviving being aged persons, and this done more then *sixteen years* since. For though it be true, *Omnia quæ curant senes meminerunt*; yet were they more prone to oblivion in this particular, because they *cared not* for that *Protestation*, they disliked; and therefore never charged it on their *Memories*.

The best is, I may speak (I hope, as yet) of the *thirty six Dissentors*, in the same language of the \* *Apostle*, *Of whom the greater part remain untill this present, but some are fallen asleep*. Bishop Brownrig, Dr. Hacket, Dr. Warmester, &c. are still (and may they long be) alive, who will be believed in this point, that they protested against the *sitting* of the *Convocation*, after the *dissolution* of the *Parliament*.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

Or if they did *protest* so *earnestly*, as he said they did, why was not the *Protestation* reduc'd into writing, subscribed with their hands in due form of Law, and so delivered to the Register to remain upon Record (amongst the other Acts of that House) for their *Indemnity*: Which not being done, rendereth this *Protest* of theirs (if any such *Protest* there were) to signify nothing, but their dislike of the continuance.

*Fuller.*



## Fuller.

Herein the *Animadverſor* doth ſpeak a *ſad truth*; the Diſſentors were ill adviſed herein, whereby their *Proteſt* (*ſignificant* onely in their own conſciences) was legally rendred of none effect.

But herein they may partly be excuſed, becauſe they (though not entering a *written Proteſt*) ſuppoſed a *verballone* would *manifeſt their diſlike*, and hoped it would ſufficiently ſecure them from a danger, which (though ſuſpected) was not certain to enſue.

This afterwards was very eagerly urged againſt them, by a *Committee in Parliament*; and ſorry I am, that they could not make their *anſwer* as clear as the *objection*.

## Dr. Heylyn.

But whereas our Author tells us, that the whole Houſe conſiſted but of *ſix ſcore perſons*, it may be thought that he diminifheth the number of ſet purpoſe, to make his own party ſeem the greater. For in the lower Houſe of Convocation for the Province of *Canterbury*, if all parties ſummon'd do appear, there are no fewer then two and twenty Deans, four and twenty Prebendaries, fifty four Archdeacons, and forty four Clerks, repreſenting the Dioceſan Clergy, amounting in the totall to an hundred forty four perſons; whereof the thirty ſix Proteſtors (if ſo many there were) make the fourth part onely. Howſoever, all parties being not well ſatisfied with the lawfulness of their continuance, his Majeſty was advertiſ'd of it. Who, upon conference with his Judges and Counſell learned in the Laws, cauſ'd a ſhort Writing to be drawn, and ſubſcribed by their ſeverall hands, in theſe following words, viz. at *White-hall*, May the 10<sup>th</sup>. 1640. the *Convocation* being called by the *Kings Writ*, is to continue till it be diſſolved by the *Kings Writ*, notwithstanding the diſſolving of the *Parliament*. Subſcribed by *Finch* Lord Keeper, *Manchester* Lord Privy Seal, *Littleton* chief Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*, *Banks* Attorney General, *Whitfield* and *Heath*, his Majeſties Serjeants.

## Fuller.

I *proteſt*, and now will enter my *proteſtation*, in *ſcriptis*, (that it may be valid) I had no deſigne either to ſubſtract from the number in the *Convocation*, or add to thoſe of the *Diſſentors*.

I believe the *Animadverſor* is very right in his *Arithmetick* of Perſons, in the *Provinciall Convocation* of *Canterbury*.

But concerning the *Arch-deacons*, give me leave once to enlarge my ſelf, in ſtating their true number, becauſe it is hard to find either a *printed* or *written Catalogue* of them, which is exact herein: They are generally reckoned up but FIFTY TWO, as followeth.

The two first containing eighteen a piece, the last, sixteen; which are but fifty two in my Arithmetick.

St. Asaph.	St. Asaph.	Exeter.	{ Toines.	St. Davids.	{ Carmarthen.
Bangor.	{ Bangor.		{ Barnstaple.		{ Cardigan.
	{ Anglesey.		{ Gloucester.		{ Brecknock.
Bristol.	{ Merioneth.	Hereford.	{ Hereford.		{ Norwich.
	{ Dorset.		{ Salop.	Norwich.	{ Norfolk.
Bath and Wels.	{ Wels.		{ London.		{ Suffolk.
	{ Bath.	London.	{ Middlesex.		{ Sudbury.
Canterb.	{ Taunton.		{ Essex.	Oxford.	{ Oxford.
	{ Canterbury.		{ Colchester.	Peterburg.	{ Northampton.
Chichest.	{ Chichester.		{ St. Albans.	Rochester.	{ Rochester.
	{ Lewes.		{ Lincoln.		{ Wilts.
Covent. & Lich.	{ Stafford.	Lincoln.	{ Stow.	Salisbury.	{ Berks.
	{ Derby.		{ Bedford.		{ Sarum.
	{ Covent.		{ Buckingham.	Winchest.	{ Winchester.
	{ Salop.		{ Huntington.		{ Surrey.
Ely.	{ Ely.		{ Leicester.	Worcest.	{ Worcester.
Exeter.	{ Exeter.	Landaff.	{ Landaff.		
	{ Cornwall.	St. Davids.	{ St. Davids.		

\*pag. 886. &c.

This is the best printed List I have ever seen, presented in *Weaver's \* Funerall Monuments*, having the valuation of each *Archdeaconry* annexed; taken, as he saith, (and I believe him therein) out of Sir *Robert Cotton's Library*: and yet I am sure it is not compleat.

Wherefore I supply *Warwick* (in the *Diocesse of Worcester*) as I find it in a more perfect written Catalogue. And yet still one is wanting, even *Westminster*, whose Church was advanced to the See of a Bishop by King *Henry the Eighth*; and though since it hath been set back from a Cathedral to a Collegiat-Church; yet it still retaineth the honour to send one of their *Prebendaries* (by the Title of their *Arch-deacon*) to the *Convocation*. And thus we have our full number of fifty four.

But whereas the *Animadvertor* taxeth me for saying, *The Convocation consisted of six-score*: I confesse, when I first read his words, I had not a *Church-History* by me to confute it. Yet I conceived such positiveness in a number improbable to fall from my Pen, who had learn'd this Lesson from the best of Teachers, the *Spirit of God*, not to be peremptory, but to leave a latitude in numbers of this nature.

In Times.  
Dan. 5. 33. Darius being about threescore and two years old.

Luk. 3. 23. Jesus began to be about thirty years of age.

In Places.  
Luk. 24. 13. From Jerusalem about sixty furlongs.

Joh. 6. 19. Had rowed about five and twenty furlongs.

In Persons.  
Exod. 12. 37. About six hundred thousand men on foot.  
Act. 2. 41. Added to the Church about three thousand souls.

But upon inspection of my Book, my words were, *The whole House consisting of ABOUT six score*; where [about] is receptive of more or less. Besides, the *Convocation*, as to the effectually managing of matters, properly consisted not of the Members belonging thereto, but present therein; and some five score and ten was the generall and constant appearance, the rest being absent for age, sickness, and other detentions.

Dr. Heylyn.

Which Writing (an *Instrument* our Author calls it) being communicated to the Clergy by the Lord Arch-bishop on the morrow after, did to compose the



the minds of all men, that they went forwards very cheerfully with the work in hand. The principall of those whom our Author calls Dissenters, bringing in the Canon of *Preaching for conformity*, (being the eighth Canon in the Book, as now they are plac'd) which was received and allowed of, as it came from his hand without alteration.

Fuller.

And calleth it an *Instrument* properly enough, both to the originall notation, and modern acception of the word. *Instrument* is so termed *ab instruendo*, from *instruſing*. This Writing did first instruct Us at the present, that, by the judgment of those great States-men and Lawyers, We might legally continue, notwithstanding the dissolution of the Parliament. And since, this Writing hath (by the event thereof) *instruſed* us, that seeing the judgments of the *Grandees* in the Law were censured erroneous in Parliament, it is unsafe in matters of this nature, to rely on the opinions of any [comparatively] private persons.

As for the modern acception of the word, I appeal to the Criticks in Language, whether this *Writing* (as the *Animadverſor* is fain to term it) of the Judges, may not be called by the generall name of *Instrument*, harmoniously enough to the propriety thereof.

Dr. Heylyn.

Howsoever, our Author keeps himself to his former folly, shutting up his extravagancy with this conclusion, fol. 163. *Thus was an old Convocation converted into a new Synod.* ] An expression borrowed from the speech of a witty Gentleman, as he is called by the Author of the *History of the Reign of King Charles*, and since by him declar'd to be the Lord George Digby, now Earl of *Briſtow*. But he that spent most of his wit upon it, and thereby gave occasion unto others for the like mistakings, was Sir Edward Deering, in a speech made against these Canons, Anno 1640. where we find these flourishes: "Would you confute the *Convocation*? They were a *holy Synod*. Would you argue against the *Synod*? Why, they were *Commissioners*. Would you dispute the *Commission*? They will mingle all powers together, and answer, that they were some fourth thing, that neither we know nor imagine; that is to say, (as it followes afterwards, pag. 27.) a *Convocationall-Synodicall-Assembly* of *Commissioners*. More of this fine stuff we may see hereafter. In the mean time we may judge, by this remnant, of the whole Piece; and find it upon proof to be very sleight, and not worth the wearing. For first, the Gentleman could not, and our Author cannot chuse but know, that a *Convocation* and a *Synod* (as us'd in *England* of late times) are but the same one thing under divers names, the one borrowed from a *Grecian*, the other from a *Latin* Originall. The *Convocation* of the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, being nothing but a *Provinciall Synod*; as a *Nationall Synod* is nothing else, but the *Convocation* of the Clergy of both Provinces. Secondly, our Author knowes by this time, that the *Commission* which seems to makes this doughty difference, changed not the *Convocation* into a *Synod*, (as some vainly think) but onely made that *Convocation* active in order to the making of Canons, which otherwise had been able to proceed no further then the grant of *Subsidies*. Thirdly, that nothing is more ordinary, then for the *Convocations* of all times since the *Reformation*, to take unto themselves the name of *Synods*. For, the Articles of Religion made in the *Convocation* Anno 1552. are called in the Title of the Book, *Articuli de quibus in Synodo Londinenſi convenit, &c.* The same name given to those agreed on in the *Convocation*, Anno 1562. as appears by the Title of that Book also, in the *Latin* Edition. The Canons of the year 1571. are said to be concluded and agreed upon in *Synodo inchoatâ Lond. in æde Divi Pauli, &c.* In the year 1575. came out a Book of Articles, with this Title following, *viz. Articles whereupon it was agreed by the most reverend father in God, the Arch-bishop of Canterbury,*

terbury, and other the Bishops, and the whole Clergy in the Province of Canterbury, in the Convocation or Synod holden at Westminster. The like we find in the year 1597. (being the last active Convocation in Queen Elizabeth's time) in which we meet with a Book entituled, *Constitutiones Ecclesiasticae, &c. in Synodo inchoata Londini vicesimo quinto die mensis Octobris.*

**Fuller.**

I request the Reader would be pleased, to call to his remembrance a passage of the *Animadversors*, on my fifth Book, relating to the Reigne of King Henry the Eighth.

I must confess my self to be at a loss in this intricate Labyrinth, unless perhaps there were some criticall difference between a *SYNOD* and a *CONVOGATION*; the first being called by the Arch-bishops, in their severall and respective Provinces, as the necessities of the Church; the other onely by the King, as his occasions and affairs, did require the same.

I find my self now in the like labyrinth, and can meet with no *Ariadne's* thread, to extricate my self. I confess; commonly, *CONVOGATION* and *SYNOD* pass for Synonyma's, signifying one and the same thing; yet some make this nice difference.

1. *Convocation*, which is, in the beginning and ending, parallel with the Parliament.

2. *Synod*, which is called by the King out of Parliament.

I acknowledge my self a *Seeker* in this point, and will not wilfully bolt mine eyes against the beams of Truth, by whomsoever delivered: Mean time, I crave leave to enter this my dissatisfaction herein, seeing the *Animadversor* so lately did confess his, in a thing of the like nature.

**Dr. Heylyn.**

Our Author finally is to know, that though the members of the two Convocations of York and Canterbury did not meet in person, yet they communicated their counsells, the results of the one being dispatcht unto the other, and there agreed on, or rejected, as they saw cause for it.

**Fuller.**

I am not to know it, for I knew it before, and nothing in my Book appears to the contrary; that the two *Provinciall Synods* privately did communicate their transactions, as they were *in fieri*, in the making; and at last, *publickly*, viz. when We at Westminster had compleated the *Canons*, by Our subscription thereunto.

**Dr. Heylyn.**

Which laid together, shewes the vanity of another passage in the Speech of Sir Edward Deering, where he vapoureth thus, viz. A strange Commission, wherein no one Commissioner's name is to be found; a strange Convocation, that lived when the Parliament was dead; a strange holy Synod, where one part never saw, never conferred with the other. Lastly, Sir Edward Deering seems to marvell at the Title of the Book of Canons then in question, expressing, that they were treated upon in Convocation, agreed upon in Synod. And this, saith he, is a new Mould to cast Canons in, never us'd before. But had he looked upon the Title of the Book of Canons, Anno 1603. he had found it otherwise. The Title this, viz. *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiasticall, treated by the Bishop of London, President of the Convocation for the Province of Canterbury, &c. and agreed upon with the Kings Majesty's licence in their Synod begun at London, Anno 1603.* And so much for the satisfaction of all such persons, whom either that Gentleman, or this our Author, have mis-informed, and consequently abused in this particular.

**Fuller.**

\* Jan 4. 4.

He hath now vapoured out that, which by the \* Apostle is termed, even a vapour



vapour which appeareth for a little time and then vanisheth away. Being dead, the Animadverſor might have ſpared this expreſſion upon him.

I believe neither he nor the Author did wittingly or willingly miſ-inform any, and therefore cannot by any charitable pen be juſtly condemned for abuſing them.

**Dr. Heylyn.**

Our Author proceeds, *Ibid.* Now becauſe great Bodies move ſlowly, &c. it was thought fit to contract the Synod into a ſelect Committee of ſome twenty fix, beſide the Prolocutor. No ſuch contracting of the Synod as our Author ſpeaks of. There was indeed a Committee of twenty fix, or thereabouts, appointed to conſider of a Canon for uniformity in ſome Rites and Ceremonies, of which number were the principall of thoſe whom he calls Diſſenters, and our Author too amongſt the reſty who having agreed upon the Canon, it was by them preſented to the reſt of the Clergy in Convocation, and by them approv'd. And poſſible it is, that the drawing up of ſome other Canons might be referr'd alſo to that Committee, (as is accuſtomed in ſuch caſes) without contracting the whole Houſe into that ſmall body, or excluding any man from being preſent at their Conſultation.

**Fuller.**

I know not what offence the word *contracting* may give, but my meaning, obvious to any Reader, is this, that a ſelect Committee was appointed, to prepare matters of greateſt importance. No member being excluded from being preſent at, but from giving a Vote in, that Conſultation.

**Dr. Heylyn.**

But whereas our Author afterwards tells us, that nothing ſhould be accounted the Act of the Houſe till thrice (as he takes it) publicly voted therein. It is but as he takes it, or miſtakes it rather, and ſo let it go.

**Fuller.**

He might have allowed me the liberty of that modeſt Parentheſis, without carping at it. Some things I confeſſe (having ſince better informed my ſelf) paſſed at the firſt time; but others which were meerly new were Thrice read, on the ſame token that it occaſioned the conteſt betwixt the Prolocutor and Doct<sup>r</sup> Holdſworth.

**Dr. Heylyn.**

But I needed not to have ſignified, that our Author was one of the Committee, he will tell it himſelf; and he will tell us more then that, publiſhing himſelf for one of the thirty fix Diſſenters, the better to ingratiate himſelf with the riſing ſide. The next day (ſo he lets us know) we all ſubſcribed the Canons, ſuffering our ſelves (according to the order of ſuch Meetings) to be all concluded by the majority of Votes, though ſome of US in the Committee privately diſſented in the paſſing of many particulars. So then, our Author was content to play the good-fellow at the laſt, and go along hand in hand with the reſt of his company; diſſenting privately, but conſenting publicly, which is as much as can be looked for.

**Fuller.**

It is not worth the while for him who is falling into the grave to endeavour to ingratiate himſelf with any riſing ſide. I appeal to the Animadverſor's own Conſcience, if I have not written the plaine truth herein.

**Dr. Heylyn.**

Our Author proceeds, *Ibid.* No ſooner came theſe Canons abroad into a pullick view, but various were mens cenſures upon them. Not poſſible that in ſuch a confuſion, both of affections and opinions, it ſhould otherwiſe be. Non omnibus

*una voluntas*, was a note of old, and will hold true as long as there are many men to have many minds. And yet, if my information deceive me not, these Canons found great approbation from the mouths of some, from whom it had been least expected; particularly from Justice Crook, whose *Argument* in the case of *Ship-money*, was printed afterwards by the Order of the House of Commons. Of whom I have been told, by a person of great worth and credit, that having read over the Book of Canons, when it first came out, he lifted up his hands, and gave hearty thanks to Almighty God, that he had liv'd to see such good effects of a Convocation. It was very well that they pleased him; but that they should please all men was not to be hoped for.

Fuller.

This is all additory, nothing at all opposite to what I have written; so we may proceed.

Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, fol. 171. *Many took exception at the bellowness of the Oath in the middle thereof, having its bowels puffed up with a windy &c. a cheveral word, which might be stretched as men would measure it.* Of this &c. which has made so much noise in the world, I shall now say nothing. Somewhat is here subjoyn'd by our Author in excuse thereof, the rest made up by the *Observer*. Onely I shall make bold to ask him, why he observ'd not this &c. when the Oath was first under consideration? or why he signified not his dissent when it came to the Vote, and shewed some reasons which might move him to object against it? It had been fitter for a wise and judicious man to signify his dislike of any thing when it might be mended, then to joine with others in condemning it, when it was past remedy.

Fuller.

I was not sensible of any just cause of exception therein. The Animadvertor confesseth that I have subjoyned *some what* in the excuse thereof. And let me add that that *somewhat* is as much to purpose in the defence of that Oath (being borrowed from as learned and pious a pen, as *England* then enjoyed) as any thing, that the Animadvertor or his party can alledge. Wherefore except, joyning with those who do defend it, be the same with, joyning with those who do condemn it, the Animadvertor hath unjustly ranked me amongst the latter.

Dr. Heylyn.

But, *Mala mens, malus animus*, as the saying is. The Convocation had no ill intent in it when they passed it so, though some few, out of their perverseness and corrupt affections, were willing to put their own sense on it, and spoil an honest meaning Text with a factious Gloss. But let us follow our Author as he leads the way, and we shall find, that

*Ibid*, Some Bishops were very forward in pressing this Oath, even before the time thereof. For, whereas a liberty was allowed to all to deliberate thereon, untill the Feast of Michael the Arch-angel, some presently pressed the Ministers of their Diocesses for the taking thereof. It seems by this, that our Author was so far from taking notice of any thing done in the Convocation, when the Canon for the Oath was framed, that he never so much as looked into the Canon it self, since the Book came out. He had not else dreamt of a liberty of Deliberation, till the Feast of St. Michael the Arch-angel, which I am sure the Canon gives not. The Synod did indeed decree, that all Arch-bishops and Bishops, and all other Priests and Deacons, in places exempt or not exempt, should, before the second day of November next ensuing, take the following Oath, against all innovation of Doctrine or Discipline. By which we see, that the Oath was to be given and taken before the second of November, but no such thing as Liberty of Deliberation till the Feast of St. Michael. And therefore if some Bishops did press the Clergy of their severall and respective



respective Diocesses, as soon as they returned home from the Convocations they might well do it by the Canon, without making any such *essay of their activity*, if providence (as our Author most wisely words it) had not prevented them.

Fuller.

Though there was no Solemn Order entered, or printed; yet am I sure, (having cause to be assured thereof) such a condescension was agreed on, and I know who did plead the Benefit of such *Deliberation*, on the same token it was denied it him.

Dr. Heylyn.

If any of the Bishops did require their Clergy to take the Oath upon their knees, (as he saies they did) though it be more then was directed by the Canon; yet I conceive, that no wise man would scruple at it, considering the gravity and greatness of the business which he was about.

Fuller.

The Oath of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, being of as high and holy a nature and concernment, are never urged in that posture. All things are disposed of by divine *Providence*; and let the Doctor write against me, what he pleaseth; but take heed how he writes corrective *Animadversions* on the proceedings of the *Greatest* and *Best* of Beings.

Dr. Heylyn.

But then, Ibid. *The Exception of Exceptions was, because they were generally condemned as illegally passed, to the prejudice of the fundamentall liberty of the Subject, whereof we shall hear enough in the next Parliament.*] Not generally condemned, either as illegally passed, or as tending to prejudice of the Subjects Rights, I am sure of that. Scarce so much as condemned by any for those respects, but by such whom it concern'd, (for carrying on of their Designs) to weaken the authority of the Church, and advance their own. But because our Author tells us, that we shall find enough of this in the following Parliament, we are to follow him to that Parliament for our satisfaction: And there we find, that Mr. *Maynard* made a Speech in the Committee of Lords against the Canons, made by the Bishops in the last Convocation, in which he *endeavoured to prove*, &c.

Fuller.

*Diogenes* being demanded what one should give him to strike on the head as hard as he could, *Give me* (sayed he) but an *Helmet*. Well fare my *Helmet*, the seasonable interposition of the word ENDEAVOURED! which hath secured me from the blowes of the Animadvertor, and perchance his hand thereby retunded. Besides I have a double *Helmet*, Master [now *Serjeant*] *Mainard*, no lesse eminently known for his skill in *Law*, than for his love to the Clergy, by pleading so effectually (in his *success* as well as *desire*) for their Tithes. Wherefore being weary with this long contest, I resolve for a while even to take my *naturall rest*, and will quietly sleep, untill *jogged* by that, which particularly concerneth me.

Dr. Heylyn.

*Endeavoured to prove*, that the Clergy had no power to make Canons, without common consent in Parliament, because in the Saxon's times, *Laws and Constitutions Ecclesiasticall had the confirmation of Peers, and sometimes of the People; to which great Councils our Parliaments do succeed.*] Which Argument, if it be of force to prove, that the Clergy can make no Canons, without consent of the Peers and People in Parliament; it must prove also, that the Peers and People can make no *Statutes* without consent of the Clergy in their Convocation. My reason is, Because such Councils in the times of the Saxons were mixt Assemblies, consisting as well of Laicks as of Ecclesiasticks; and the matters there concluded on of a mixt nature also, Laws being passed as commonly in

them in order to the good governance of the Common-wealth, as Canons for the regulating such things as concern'd Religion. But these great Councils of the Saxons being divided into two parts in the times ensuing, the Clergy did their work by themselves, without any confirmation from the King or Parliament, till the submission of the Clergy to King Henry the Eighth. And if the Parliaments did succeed in the place of those great Councils, (as he saies they did) it was, because that antiently the Procurators of the Clergy, not the Bishops onely, had their place in Parliament, though neither Peers nor People voted in the Convocations. Which being so, it is not much to be admired, that there was some checking (as is said in the second Argument) about the disuse of the generall making of such Church-Laws. But checking or repining at the proceeding of any Superiour Court, makes not the Acts thereof illegall; for, if it did, the Acts of Parliaments themselves would be reputed of no force, or illegally made, because the Clergy for a long time have checkt (and think they have good cause to check) for their being excluded. Which checking of the Commons appears not onely in those antient Authors which the Gentleman cited, but in the Remonstrance tendred by them to King Henry the Eighth, exemplified at large in these Animadversions, lib. 3. n. 61. But because this, being a Record of the Convocation, may not come within the walk of a Common Lawyer, I shall put him in mind of that memorable passage in the Parliament, 51 Edw. 3d. which in brief was this: The Commons finding themselves aggrieved, as well with certain Constitutions made by the Clergy in their Synods, as with some Laws or Ordinances which were lately passed, more to the advantage of the Clergy then the Common People, put in a Bill to this effect, viz. "That no Act nor Ordinance should from thenceforth be made or granted on the Petition of the said Clergy, without the consent of the Commons; and that the said Commons should not be bound in times to come by any Constitutions made by the Clergy of this Realm, for their own advantage, to which the Commons of this Realm had not given consent. The reason of which is this, (and 'tis worth the marking) "*Car eux ne veulent estre obligez a nul de vos Estatuz ne Ordinances faitz sanz leur Assent*. Because the said Clergy did not think themselves bound (as indeed they were not in those times) by any Statute, Act, or Ordinance, made without their assent in the Court of Parliament. But that which could not be obtain'd by this checking of the Commons, in the declining and last times of King Edward 3. was in some part effected by the more vigorous prosecution of King Henry 8. who, to satisfy the desires of the Commons in this particular, and repress their checkings, obtained from the Clergy, that they should neither make nor execute any Canons, without his consent, as before is said; so that the Kings power of confirming Canons was grounded on the free and voluntary submission of the Clergy, and was not built, as the third Argument objecteth, on so weak a foundation as the Pope's making Canons by his sole power: the Pope not making Canons here, nor putting his Prescripts and Letters decretory in the place of Canons, but onely as a remedy for some present exigency. So that the King's power in this particular not being built upon the Popes, as he said it was, it may well stand, That Kings may make Canons without consent of Parliament, though he saith they cannot. But whereas it is argued, in the fourth place, that the clause in the Statute of Submission, in which it is said, that the Clergy shall not make Canons without the Kings leave, doth not imply, that by His leave alone they may make them; I cannot think that he delivered this for Law, and much less for Logick. For, had this been looked on formerly as a piece of Law, the Parliaments would have check'd at it at some time or other, and been as sensible of the Kings enroachments, in executing this power without them, as antiently some of them had been about the disuse of the like generall consent in the making of them.



Fuller.

DORMIT SECURUS.

Dr. Heylyn.

Fol. 180. In the next place our Author tells us, that Mr. Maynard endeavoured also to prove, that these Canons were against the King's Prerogative, the Rights, Liberties, and Properties of the Subject. And he saith well, that it was endeavoured to be proved, and endeavoured onely, nothing amounting to a proof, being to be found in that which followes. It had before been Voted by the House of Commons, that the Canons are against fundamentall Laws of this Realm, against the Kings Prerogative, Property of the Subject, the Right of Parliament, and do tend to faction and sedition. And it was fit that some endeavours should be used to make good the Vote. But, this being but a generall charge, requires a generall answer onely, and it shall be this: Before the Canons were subscribed, they were imparted to the King by the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and by the King communicated to the Lords of the Council, who calling to them the assistance of the Judges, and some of the Kings Council learned in the Laws of this Realm, caus'd the said Canons to be read and considered of, the King being then present. By all which, upon due and mature deliberation, the Canons were approv'd; and being so approv'd, were sent back to the Clergy in the Convocation, and by them subscribed. And certainly it had been strange, that they should pass the approbation of the Judges and learned Lawyers, had they contained any thing against the fundamentall Laws of the Land, the Property of the Subject, and the Rights of Parliament, or been approv'd of by the Lords of his Majesties Council, had any thing been contained in them derogatory to the Kings Prerogative, or tending to faction and sedition. So that the foundation being ill laid, the superstructures and objections which are built upon it, may be easily shaken and thrown down. To the first therefore it is answered, that nothing hath been more ordinary in all former times, than for the Canons of the Church to inflict penalties on such, as shall disobey them; exemplified in the late Canons of 1603. many of which extend not onely unto Excommunication, but even to Degradation and Irregularity, for which, see Can. 38. 113. &c. To the second, that there is nothing in those Canons which determine or limiteth the Kings Authority; but much that makes for, and defendeth the Right of the Subject, for which the Convocation might rather have expected thanks then censure, from ensuing Parliaments. To the third, That when the Canon did declare the Government of Kings to be founded on the Law of Nature, it was not to condemn all other Governments, as being unlawfull, but to commend that of the Kings as being the best. Nor can it Logically be inferr'd, that because the Kingly Government is not receiv'd in all places, that therefore it ought not so to be; or that the Government (by this Canon) should be the same in all places, and in all alike; because some Kings do, and may lawfully part with many of their Rights for the good of their Subjects, which others do, and may as lawfully retain unto themselves. To the fourth, That the Doctrine of Non-Resistance is built expressly on the words of St. Paul, Rom. 13. v. 2. and therefore to condemn the Canon in that behalf, is to condemn the Word of God upon which it is founded. Finally, to the fifth and last, That the Statute of 5, 6 Edw. 6. declaring, that the daies there mentioned shall be kept for Holy-daies, and no other, relates onely to the abolishing of some other Festivalls, which had been formerly observ'd in the Realm of England, and not to the disabling of the Church from ordaining any other Holy-dayes, (on emergent causes) in the times to come.

Fuller.

Fuller.

## DORMIT SECURUS.

Dr. Heylyn.

Affuredly that able Lawyer would have spoke more home unto the point, could the cause have born it. *Eloquentem facit causa bonitas*, in the Orator's language. And therefore looking on the heads of the Arguments (as our Author represents them to us) I must needs think, that they were rather fitted to the sense of the House, than they were to his own.

Fuller.

I now begin to *awake*, and rub my *Eyes*, hearing somewhat wherein I am concerned, as if I had unfaithfully related these Arguments.

I confesse it is but a *Breviat* of them, accommodated to the proportion of my Book; and had they been at large, much lustre must be lost whilst related, seeing none but Mr. *Mainard* can repeat the Arguments of Mr. *Mainard* to equal advantage. However, I had them from as *observant*, and judicious a Person as any in house of Lords; and if I should name Him, the Animadverto would believe me herein.

Dr. Heylyn.

What influence these Arguments might have on the House of Peers, when reported by the Bishop of *Lincoln*, I am not able to affirm: But so far I concur with our Author, that *they lost neither life nor lustre*, as they came from his mouth, who (as our Author sayes) *was a back friend to the Canons, because made during his absence and durance in the Tower.*] A piece of ingenuity which I did not look for.

Fuller.

There are some Pens that if a Man do look for *Ingenuity* from them, he may look for it.

Dr. Heylyn.

The power of Convocation being thus shaken and endangered, that of the High Commission and the Bishops Courts was not like to hold; the one being taken away by Act of Parliament, and the other much weakened in the coercive power thereof, by a clause in that Act, of which our Author tell us, that

Fol. 182. Mr. *Pim* triumphed at this successe, crying out *digitus Dei, it is the finger of God, that the Bishops should so supinely suffer themselves to be surpris'd in their power.*] And well might Mr. *Pim* triumph, as having gain'd the point he aim'd at, in subverting the coercive power, and consequently the whole exercise of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. But he had no reason to impute it to the *finger of God*, or to the carelesnesse of the Bishops in suffering themselves to be so supinely surpris'd. For first the Bishops saw too plainly, that those general words by which they were disabled from inflicting any *pain* or *penalty*, would be extended to Suspension, Excommunication, and other Ecclesiastical censures. But secondly, they saw withall that the stream was too strong for them to strive against, most of the Lords being wrought on by the popular party in the House of Commons, to passe the Bill. Thirdly, they were not without hope, that when the *Scots* Army was disbanded, and that Nation satisfied, by the Kings condescensions to them, there might be such an explication made of those general words, as to restrain them unto temporal *pains* and civill penalties, by which the censures of the Church might remain as formerly. And fourthly, in order thereunto they had procured a *Proviso* to be entred in the House of Peers,



Peers, That the general words in this Bill should extend onely to the High Commission Court, and not reach other Ecclesiastical jurisdictions, for which consult our Author, fol. 181. Having thus passed over such matters as concern the Church, we will now look upon some few things which relate to the Parliament. And the first is that —

Fuller.

I said not Mr. Pim had *just cause to triumph*; yea somewhat followeth in my History to the contrary, shewing He had no reason to rejoyce, and condemn the Bishops herein, seeing not *Supinasse* but *Prudentiall condescension*, for the time, made them rather *sufferers* then *surprized* herein. Onely I say, there are many alive, who heard him sing aloud this his *Victoria*, and the Eccho thereof it still foundeth in their Eares.

The Animadvertor himselfe, sometimes triumpheth over my mistakes, and carrieth me away in his own conceit; whilst still I am sensible of my owne *Liberty*, that I am in a free condition.

Dr. Heylyn.

Fol. 174. Dr. Pocklington, and Dr. Bray, were the two first that felt the displeasures of it, the former for preaching and printing, the latter for licencing two Books, one called Sunday no Sabbath, the other the Christian Altar.] No other way to pacifie the high displeasures of the Bishop of Lincoln, but by such a Sacrifice, who therefore is intrusted to gather such Propositions out of those two Books as were to be recanted by the one, and for which the other was to be depriv'd of all his preterments. And in this the Bishop serv'd his own turn, and the peoples too: his own turn first, in the great controversie of the Altar, in which he was so great a stickler, and in which Pocklington was thought to have provoked him to take that revenge. The Peoples turn he serv'd next, in the condemning and recanting of some points about the Sabbath, though therein he ran cross to his former practice. Who had been not long since so far from those Sabbatarian rigors, (which now he would fain be thought to countenance) that he caus'd a Comedy to be acted before him at his house at *Budgen*, not onely on a Sunday in the afternoon, but upon such a Sunday also on which he had publickly given sacred Orders both to Priests and Deacons. And to this Comedy, he invited the Earl of *Manchester*, and divers of the neighbouring Gentry.

Fuller.

I was neither an Actor in, nor a Spectator of that Comedy. The better day, the worse deed. I recount it amongst none of those his *Good works*, wherewith he abounded.

Dr. Heylyn.

Though on this turning of the tide, he did not onely cause these Doctors to be condemned for some Opinions which formerly himselfe allowed of, but mov'd at the Assembly in Jerusalem-Chamber, that all Books should be publickly burnt, which had disputed the Morality of the Lords-day-Sabbath. *Quo teneam nodo*, &c. as the Poet hath it.

Fuller.

I have been credibly informed, that when in Jerusalem-Chamber, Mr. Stephen Marshall urged most vehemently for severe punishment, on the Authors of those Books; Bishop Williams, fell foul on the Books, moving they might be burnt, that their Authors might the better escape. Let every one betime his share herein.

Dr. Heylyn.

But whereas our Author tells us in the following words, that soon after both the Doctors deceased for grief, I dare with some confidence tell him, there was no

M m m

such

such matter; Dr. *Pocklington* living about two years, and Dr. *Bray* above four years after, with as great chearfulness and courage as ever formerly. How he hath dealt with Dr. *Cousen*, we shall see more at large hereafter in a place by it selfe, the discourse thereof being too long and too full of particulars, to come within the compasse of an *Animadversion*. In the mean time proceed we unto Bishop *Wren*, of whom thus as followeth.

#### Fuller.

I went to *Peterborough* on purpose in Quest after Information, and saw Dr. *Pocklington's* Grave; on the same token, it was in the *Church-yard*, just in the place, where so many *Saxons* were murdered, and Martyred by the *Danes*: and there I heard that he enjoyed not himself after his *censure*. Of Dr. *Bray* (though I could) I say nothing; and shall return an Answer to Dr. *Cosins* at the end of this Book.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, Fol. 182. *A Bill (saith our Author) was sent up by the Commons against Mathew Wren Bishop of Ely, containing 25 Articles, &c.* That such a Bill was sent up from the *House of Commons*, is undoubtedly true. And no lesse true it is, that many *Impeachments* of like nature were hammered, at, and about, the same time against many other *Clergy men* of good note, though inferiour Order; the *Articles* whereof were Printed and exposed to open saile to their great *disparagement*. And therefore I would faine know the Reason, why this *Man* should be singled out amongst all the rest to stand impeached upon record in our *Author's History*; especially considering that there was nothing done by the *Lords* in pursuance of it, the *Impeachment* dying in a manner as soon as born. Was it because he was more *Criminall* then the other were, or that the charge was better proved, or for what Cause else?

#### Fuller.

I will give the Reader a true and fair, account thereof. Many *Clergy men*, (as the *Animadvertor* observeth) being then articulated against; I thought, to insert all would clog my Book with needlesse Numbers, as to omit all, would be interpreted *Partiality*, and *Unfaithfullnesse* in an *Historian*: I chose therefore the middle, (as the safest) way, to instance in four; two *Dofors*, *Bray* and *Pocklington*; one *Dean*, *J. Cosins*; and one *Bishop*, *Mathew Wren*, conceiving these a sufficient Representation of all the rest. Wherefore I cannot see how the *Animadvertor* can properly say, that *Bishop Wren* was by me singled out, except a *QUATERNION* be a single *Man*. It was not because his Charge was better (which for ought I know was not at all) proved, but for these Reasons:

1. He was one of the first in Time.
2. He was one of the highest in Dignity.
3. He was one that hath longest been a Sufferer for his *un-prosecuted Accusation*.

} Clamoured against.

And here had the *Animadvertor* been pleased, as well to take notice of *Flowers* and *Herbs* in my *Church-History*, as what he counteth *Weeds* therein, he might have inserted, (yea with Justice could not have omitted) this following \* passage. *Bishop Wren his long imprisonment, (being never brought into a publick Answer) hath converted many of his Adversaries, into a more Charitable opinion of him.*

\* Book II. p.  
196.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

Well, since our Author will not, I will tell you, why (he singled out *M. Wren* amongst all the rest) And I will tell it in the words of *King James*, in the Conference at *Hampton-court*, upon occasion of a needlesse exception taken by Dr. *Reynolds* at a passage in *Ecclesiasticus*, *What trow ye,* (said the King,) *makes these men so angry with Ecclesiasticus? By my Sal, I think he was a Bishop, or else they would never use him so.* And so much for that.

Fuller.



Fuller.

Whether Ecclesiasticus was a Bishop or no, I know not; this I know that Ecclesiastes was a Preacher. The words of Kings are most proper for the Mouths of Kings, and Sovereignes may speak their Pleasure to their Subjects, which fit not fellow-Subjects one to another. And so much for that.

My extraction who was Prebendarius Prebendarides, and Relation (as the Animadvertor knows) to Two no meane Bishops, my Uncles, may clear me from any Episcopall Antipathy. I honour any who is a Bishop, both Honour and Love him who is a Religious and Learned Bishop.

Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, Fel. 174. *About this time was the first motion of a new Protestation to be taken all over England, which some months after was generally performed.* What time this was our Author tells us in the margin, pointing to Feb. 4. about which time there was no mention of the Protestation, nor occasion for it. The first mention which was made of the Protestation was upon Munday, May the third, on which day it was mentioned, fram'd, and taken by all the Members of the House of Commons, excepting the Lord George Digby (now Earl of Bristol) and an Uncle of his.

Fuller.

I appeal to the surviving Members of the House of Commons, (the most competent Judges in this point) whether such a Protestation was not hammered (though not perfected) about the date by me assigned.

*Acts of State never ride Post*; and it seems to me improbable, that the Protestation by such unass'd appropriation, to be mentioned, framed, and taken all in one day. But herein I submit to those who best know it.

Dr. Heylyn.

The occasion of it was a Speech made by the King in the House of Peers in favour of the Earl of Strafford, upon the Saturday before; which mov'd them to unite themselves by this Protestation for bringing to condign punishment, all such as shall either by force, practice, plots, counsels, conspiracies, or otherwise do any thing to the contrary of any thing in the same Protestation contain'd. Which Protestation being carried into the House of Peers, was after some few dayes generally taken by that House also. But the prevalent party in the House of Commons, having further aims then such as our Author pleaseth to take notice of, first caus'd it to be printed by an Order of the fifth of May, that they might be sent down to the Sheriffes and Justices of Peace in the severall Shires; to whom they intimated, that as they justified the taking of it in themselves, so they could not but approve it in all such as should take it. But finding that this did not much edifie with the Country people, they desired the Lords to concur with them in imposing the same. Failing whereof, by an Order of their own House onely, July 30. it was declared, that the Protestation made by them was fit to be taken by every Person that was well affected in Religion, and to the good of the Common-wealth; and therefore what Person soever did not take the same, was unfit to bear Office in the Church or Common-wealth. Which notwithstanding, many refus'd to take it, as our Author telleth us, not knowing but that some sinister use might be made thereof: as afterward appeared by those Pikes and Protestations, which conducted some of the five Members to the House of Commons.

Fuller.

The Animadvertor and the Author have in this Paragraph lovingly shaken hands together I fear, for meeting and parting at once; and that it will not be long before we disjoyne them again.

Dr.

## Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, Fol. 183. *About this time came forth the Lord Brook his Book against Bishops, accusing them in respect of their Parentage to be de face populi, of the dregs of the people; and in respect of their Studies? no way fit for Government, or to be Barons in Parliament.] A passage mis-becoming no mans pen so much as his that writ it; whose Father neither was of a better extraction then some, nor better left, as in the way of his subsistence, then any of the Bishops (whom he thus upbraided) had been left by their fathers.*

## Fuller.

The Animadvertor will, I hope, acknowledge me a *fair and ingenuous Adversary*, on a token best known to *us alone*. However, Christianity obligeth me to take no *unworthy advantage* of my Brother in the same Profession.

## Dr. Heylyn.

From the first part of which calumny, the Bishops freed themselves well enough, as appears by our Author. And from the second, since they were too modest to speak in their own commendations, our Author might have freed them with one of the old tales which are in his budget. And the tale is of a Nobleman in King Harry the eighth time, who told Mr. Pace, one of the Kings Secretaries, in contempt of Learning, *that it was enough for Noblemens sons to wind their Horn, and carry their Hawk fair; and to leave study and learning to the children of mean men: to whom the aforesaid Mr. Pace replied, Then you and other Nobl men must be content, that your children may wind their Horns, and keep their Hawks, while the children of mean men do manage matters of Estate.* And certainly there can be no reason why men that have been versed in Books, studied in Histories, and thereby made acquainted with the chief occurrences of most States and Kingdoms, should not be thought as fit to manage the affairs of State, as those who spend their time in *Hawking and Hunting*, if not upon some worse employments. For that a *Superinduction* of holy Orders should prove a *Superseas* to all *civill prudence*, is such a wild extravagant fancy, as no man of judgment can allow of.

## Fuller.

I never said it, nor thought it; I will never write a syllable against mine own Vocation. The Clergy, I am sure, cannot be impaired, and Lay-Noblemen, I hope, may be improved, (to make them more industrious to enable themselves) by the Animadvertor's story, well reported, and better urged and applied.

## Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, Fol. 188. *The next day the 12 Subscribers were voted to be committed to the Tower, save that Bishop Morton of Durham, and Hall of Norwich found some favour.] Our Author speaks this of those twelve Bishops, who had subscrib'd a Protestation for preserving their Rights and Votes in the House of Peers, during the time of their involuntary absence, to which they were compelled by threats, menaces, and some open acts of violence committed on them. But in the name of one of the Bishops, who found the favour of not being sent unto the Tower, he is much mistaken; it not being Dr. Hall Bishop of Norwich, but Dr. Wright Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, who found that favour at their Hands.*

## Fuller.

Not much, who (if at all) could not be less mistaken. I shall provide, God willing, the next Edition shall be reformed herein; and meane time desire the Owner of my former, to rectifie it with their Pen, who immediately can remove Coventry and Lichfield, (though 80 Miles distance) to Norwich, and thereby he will much wright me, and nothing at all wrong himself.

Dr.



## Dr Heylyn.

The like Misnomer I find after, fol. 193. where he speaks of *William*, Earl of *Bath*; The Earl of *Bath* of whom he speaks being nam'd *Henry*, and not *William*, unlesse he chang'd his name when he succeeded in that Earldom, as I think he did not, and I am sure our Author will not say he did.

## Fuller.

That noble Earl, (questionable whether of more Honour or Learning) so cordiall to the cause of the Church, (far from all new dipt *Señaries*;) never changed his Name, till he changed his Life, and then of a *Militant* became a *Triumphant Saint*. The Reader will believe me knowing enough in his Christian name, whose Relict (since *Countess* of *Middlesex*) was my late Parioner at *Walsham*, where I have seen his name above a thousand times, prefixed with his own hand writing, before the severall Books in the Numerous and choise Library at *Copt-hall*. It was indeed a meer mistake of the Printer.

## Dr. Heylyn.

As much he is mistaken also in point of time, leaving the *Bishops* in prison for eighteen weeks, whereas they were scarce detained there for half that time. For, being committed to the Tower in the end of *December*, they were released by an Order of the House of Peers on the fifteenth of *February*, being the next day after the Bill for taking away their Votes had passed in Parliament. But then the Commons looking on them, as devested of their Right of Peerage, and consequently (as they thought) in the same rank with themselves, return'd them to the Tower again: and having kept them there some few weeks (long enough to declare their power,) discharged them upon Bail, and so sent them home.

## Fuller.

A great cry and a little wool. 1. From the end of *December* to the fifteen of *February* was seven weeks. 2. They continued afterwards there some few weeks, as the *Animadvertor* confesseth. Weeks imply two at the least; some few, denote 4 or 5 in proper sense. Lastly some of the *Bishops* staid there longer than others, even for lack of Money to pay their fees: If the Reader be pleased to take all these up, he will find them fall little short of 18 Weeks. And let not the *Animadvertor* wilfully persist in an error, who may know from *Bishop Wren*, that none of them were released before the sixth of *May*.

## Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceedeth, Fol. 195. About this time the word *Malignant* was first born (as to common use) in England, and fixed as a note of disgrace on the Kings Party, and (because one had as good be dumb as not speak with the volge) possibly in that sense it may occur in our ensuing History. Nothing more possible then that our Author should make use of any word of disgrace with which the Kings party was reproached.

## Fuller.

The *Animadvertor* in this Point, proves himselfe a *Malignant* indeed, taxing me with so odious and untrue an *Aspersion*: nothing more improbable, then that my hand should hurt that Cause, which my Heart did Honour in the Writing of my Book. I though this Passage be by me premised by way of prevention, if the Word *Malignant* casually fell from my Pen; yet such was my Cautiousnesse, that very rarely, if at all, it is used as mine own word. Besides, the Ingenuous Reader knoweth that the Writers of *Civill Dissentions* are sometimes necessitated for differencing of Parties, to use those Tearmes they do not approve.

Dr. Heylyn.

And if he calls them formerly by the name of *Royalists* and *High-Royalists*, as he sometimes doth; it was not because he thought them worthy of no worse a Title, but because the name of *Malignants* had not then been born.

Fuller.

Not so. For then since the Name *MALIGNANT* was born, I would have used it on them, which I do not: Those words of the *Animadversion*, [worthy of no WORSE a TITLE] intimate, as if *ROYALIST* and *HIGH-ROYALIST* were *BAD TITLES*, which if not *Honourable* must be *insensitive*. If *ROYAL* the *Primitive* be *GOOD*, [a \**ROYAL* Law, \*a *ROYAL* Priest-hood] *ROYALIST* the *Derivative* cannot be *BAD*, much less *HIGH-ROYALIST*, except *Height* makes that *BAD* being added thereunto, which was *GOOD* before.

\* Jam. 2. 8.  
\* 1 Pet. 2. 9.

Dr. Heylyn.

He cannot chuse but know, that the name of *Round-head* was born at the same time also, and that it was as common in the Kings Party to call the Parliamentarians by the name of *Round-heads*, as it was with those of the Parliament Party, to call the King's adherents by the name of *Malignants*. And yet I do confidently say, that the word *Round-head*, as it was fixed as a note of disgrace on the Parliament party, doth not occur, on any occasion whatsoever, in our Authors History. But *kissing goes by favour*, as the saying is; and therefore let him favour whom he pleases, and kiss where he favoureth.

Fuller.

I confesse the name *ROUND-HEAD* at the same time *Trundled about* in the Mouths of many men; but I conceived it beneath an *Historian* to make use thereof, because his *Majesty* in all his *Proclamations*, *Declarations*, and other *Acts* of *State*, never made mention thereof, whilst *MALIGNANT* was often used in *Acts* of *Parliament*.

But if my bare Mention (not using) of *MALIGNANT*, be so distastfull; I will *Cut down* all the *ill wood* therein, to the last *Spring*, *quench* all the *ill fire* therein to the last *Spark*; I meane, God willing, totally delete that *Paragraph* in the next Edition.

Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, Fol. 196. By this time ten of the eleven Bishops formerly subscribing their Protestation to the Parliament, were after some months durance (upon good Baile given) released, &c. Of the releasing of these Bishops we have spoke already. We are now onely to observe such mistakes and errors as relate unto it. And first they were not released at or about the time which our Author speaks of, that is to say, after such time as the word *plunder* had begun to be us'd amongst us. *Plunder* both name and thing, vvas unknown in England, till the beginning of the War; and the War began not, till September, An. 1642. which vvas some months after the releasing of the Bishops.

Fuller.

I hope novv the *Animadvertor* is dravving to a Conclusion, because an *Ague* commonly is leaving one, vwhen beginning to double its *Fits*. Formerly he found fault but once, in four Pages; novv four times, in one Paragraph.

Here is nothing *Adis-Admed* in this point; the name *PLUNDER* beginning in England some Months, the *Practice* thereof some Weeks, before our War. Indeed *COMMISSION'D PLUNDER* begun with the war, but *UNCOMMISSION'D PLUNDER* vvas before it, committed by those, whose activity onely did *Authorise* (or rather *Impower*) them, to take avway the goods of others. Such vvere they that *PLUNDERED*, (for I am sure they will not say they *ROBBED*) the Houses



House of the Countesse Rivers at Long-Melford in Suffolk, before the University of Cambridge sent their Plate to the King to York, and consequently before the Warr.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

Secondly, he telleth us, that ten of the eleven which had subscribed, were released, whereas there were twelve which had subscrib'd as appears fol. 187. whereof ten were sent unto the Tower, and the other two committed to the custody of the Black-Rod, fol. 188. And if ten onely were releast, the other two must be kept in custody for a longer time: whereas we find the Bishop of *Notwich* at home in his Diocese, and the Bishop of *Durham* at liberty in *London*; they being the two whom he makes so far favour'd by the Parliament, as they scap't the Tower.

*Fuller.*

The small numerall fault shall be amended, to prevent exceptions, in my next Edition.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

Thirdly, he telleth us, that, when all others were releast, Bishop *Wren* was still detain'd in the Tower, which is nothing so. That Bishop was releast upon Bail, when the other were returned unto his Diocese, as the others did, and there continued for a time; when of a suddain he was snatched from his House at *Downham*, in the Isle of *Ely*, carried to the Tower, and there imprisoned; never being brought unto a Hearing, nor any cause shewed for his imprisonment to this very day.

*Fuller.*

Would it were nothing so indeed, *Si mea cum vestris valuisse Vota.*

If the Animadventor's and Author's Joynr-desires might have taken Effect, there had been no difference about this passage in my Book.

*Tuque domo propria, nos (Te Præsul) Pöteremur*

{ Thou hadst enjoy'd thy house,  
and we,  
Prelate, had enjoyed Thee.

But alas it is so, He is still and still (when all other Bishops are released) detained in the Tower, where I believe he maketh Gods Service, his perfect freedom. My words, as relating to the time when I wrote them, containe too much sorrowfull truth therein.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

Fourthly, Archbishop *Williams* after his restoring unto liberty went not into the Kings Quarters, as our Author saith, but unto one of his own houses in *Yorkshire*, where he continued till the year 1643. and then came to *Oxford*: not that he found the North too cold for him, or the War too hot; but to solicit for re-n. wing of his Commendam in the Deanry of *Westminster*; the time for which he was to hold it drawing towards an end.

*Fuller.*

Nothing false or faulty. The Arch-bishop of *York*, layed some weeks after his enlargement at *Westminster*, thence he went privately to the house of Sir *Thomas Hedley* in *Huntingdonshire*, and thence to his Palace at *Cambridg*h *York*, where he gave the King a magnificent Intertainment.

King James settled the Deanry of *Westminster* under the great Seal on *Dr. Williams*, so long as he should continue Bishop of *Lincoln*. *Hæc illa Lærimæ*, hence the great heaving and huffing at Him, because He would not resigne it, which was so signal a Monument of his Master's favour unto him.

Being Arch-bishop of *York*, King *Charles* confirmed his Deanry unto him for  
three

three years, in lieu of the profits of his Arch-bishoprick, which the King had taken *Sede vacante*. So that it is probable enough, the renewing that Tearm might be a Joynt-Motive of his going to Oxford.

But I see nothing which I have written can be cavilled at, except because I call *Yorkshire* the King's *Quarters*, which as yet was the Kings *WHOLE*, when the Arch-bishop first came thither, (as being a little before the War began) though few Weeks after, it became the King's *Quarters*. Such a Prolepsis is familiar with the best Historians; and, in effect, is little more, then when the \* Animadvertor calleth the *Gag* and *Appello Casum*, the Books of *Bishop Montague*; who, when they were written by him, was no (though soon after a) *Bishop*.

\* Animadvertor  
ens, pag. 205.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, fol. 196. *Some of the aged Bishops had their tongues so used to the language of a third Estate, that more then once they ran on that (reputed) Rock in their speeches, for which they were publicly shent, and enjoyned an acknowledgment of their mistake.* By whom they were so publicly shent, and who they were that so ingenuously acknowledged their mistake, as my Author telleth us not, so neither can I say whether it be true or false.

#### Fuller.

I tell you again, It is true. The Earl of *Essex* and the Lord *Say* were two of the Lords (though this be more then I need discover) who checked them. And of two of those Bishops, Dr. *Hall*, late Bishop of *Norwich*, is gone to God, and the other is still alive.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

But I must needs say, that there was small ingenuity in acknowledging a mistake in that, wherein they had not been mistaken; or by endeavouring to avoid a *reputed Rock*, to run themselves on a certain Rock, even the Rock of Scandall.

#### Fuller.

Their brief and generall acknowledgment, that they were sorry that they had spoken in this point, what had incurred the displeasure of the Temporall Lords, was no trespass on their own ingenuity, nor had shadow of scandall to others therein.

I confesse, men must not bear false-witness, either against themselves or others; nor may they betray their right, especially when they have not onely a *personall concernment* therein, but also are in some sort *Fooffees in trust* for Posterity. However, when a predominant Power plainly appears, which will certainly over-rule their cause against them; without scandall, they may (not to say in Christian prudence they ought) to wave the vindication of their priviledges for the present, waiting, wishing, and praying, for more moderate and equall times, wherein they may assert their right, with more advantage to their cause, and less danger to their persons.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

For that the *English* Bishops had their vote in Parliament as a *third Estate*, and not in the capacity of *temporal Barons*, will evidently appear by these reasons following. For first, the Clergy in all other Christian Kingdoms of these Northwest parts make the *third Estate*; that is to say, in the *German Empire*, as appears by *Thuanus* the Historian, lib. 2. In *France*, as is affirmed by *Paulus Emilius*, lib. 9. In *Spain*, as testifieth *Bodin* in his *De Repub.* lib. 3. For which consult also the *Generall History of Spain*, as in point of practise, lib. 9, 10, 11, 14. In *Hungary*, as witnesseth *Bonsinius*, Dec. 2. l. 1. In *Poland*, as is verified by *Thuanus* also, lib. 56. In *Denmark*, as *Pontanus* telleth us in *Historia rerum Danicarum*, l. 7.



l. 7. The *Swedes* observing antiently the same form and order of Government as was us'd by the *Danes*. The like we find in *Camden* for the Realm of *Scotland*, in which antiently the Lords Spirituall, viz. *Bishops, Abbots, Priors*, made the third Estate. And certainly it were very strange, if the Bishops and other Prelates in the Realm of *England*, being a great and powerfull body, should move in a lower Sphere in *England*, then they do elsewhere. But secondly, not to stand onely upon probable inferences, we find first in the History of *Titus Livius*, touching the Reign and Acts of *King Henry* the fifth, that when his Funerals were ended, the three Estates of the Realm of *England* did assemble together, and declared his Son *King Henry* the sixth, being an Infant of eight months old, to be their Sovereign Lord as his Heir and Successor. And if the Lords Spirituall did not then make the third Estate, I would know who did. Secondly, the Petition tendred to *Richard Duke of Gloucester*, to accept the Crown, occurring in the Parliament Rolls, runs in the name of the three Estates of the Realm, that is to say, "The Lords Spirituall, and Temporall, and the Commons thereof. Thirdly, in the first Parliament of the said *Richard* lately Crowned King, it is said expressly, that "at the request and by the consent of the three Estates of this Realm, that is to say, the Lords Spirituall, and Temporall, and Commons of this Land assembled in this present Parliament, and by Authority of the same it be pronounced, decreed, and declared, That our said Sovereign Lord the King, was, "and is the very and undoubted King of this Realm of *England*, &c. Fourthly, "it is acknowledged so in the Statute of 1 *Eliz. cap. 3.* where the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and the Commons in that Parliament assembled, being "said expressly, and in terminis, to represent the three Estates of this Realm of "England, did recognize the Queens Majesty to be their true, lawfull, and undoubted Sovereign Liege Lady, and Queen. Add unto these the Testimony of *Sir Edward Cook*, though a private person, who in his Book of the Jurisdiction of Courts (published by order of the long Parliament) chap. 1. doth expressly say; That the Parliament consists of the Head and Body; that the Head is the King, that the Body are the three Estates, viz. the Lords Spirituall, and Temporall, and Commons. In which words we have not onely the opinion and testimony of that learned Lawyer, but the Authority of the long Parliament also, though against it selfe. Those aged Bishops had been but little studied in their owne concerns, and betray'd their Rights, if any of them did acknowledge any such mistake in challenging to themselves the name and priviledges of the third Estate.

### Fuller.

In this long discourse, the *Animadverſor* hath given in the severall Particulars, whereof I, in my Church-History, gave the Totall summe; when saying, that there were passages in the old Statutes, which did countenance the Bishops sitting in Parliament in the Capacity of a THIRD ESTATE.

I have nothing to returne in Opposition, and heartily wish that his Arguments (to use the Sea-man's phrase) may prove *ſtanche* and *tight*, to hold water, when some Common-Lawyer shall examine them.

But seeing the *Animadverſor* hath with his commendable paines gon so farre in this point, I could wish he had gon a little further, even to answer the two Common Objections against the THIRD-ESTATE SHIP of Bishops.

The First is this: The Bishop not to speak of *Bishops Suffragan*, of the *Iſle of Man*, is a Bishop for all purposes, and intents, of Jurisdiction and ordination, yet hath he no place in Parliament, because not holding *per In egram Baroniam*, by an *Intire Barony*. Now if Bishops sat in Parliament as a THIRD-ESTATE, and not as so many Barons, why hath not the Bishop of *Man*, being in the Province of *York*, a place in Parliament as well as the rest?

Secondly, If the Bishops sit as a THIRD-ESTATE, then Statutes made without

out them are manco and defective, which in law will not be allowed; seeing there were some Sessions of Parliament wherein Statutes did passe, *Excluso Clero* (at least wise, *Absente Clero*) which notwithstanding are acknowledged Obligatory to our Nation.

\* Alledged by  
th<sup>e</sup> Animad-  
vertor, former-  
ly in his  
fourth Book.

I also, request him (when *his Hand is in*) to satisfie the *Objection*, taken from a \* passage in the *Parliament at Northampton* under *Henry the Second*, when the Bishops challenged their *Peerage*, viz. *Non sedemus hic Episcopi, sed Barones: Nos Barones, vos Barones, Pares hic sumus. We sit not here as Bishops, but as Barons, We are Barons, You are Barons, here we are peers*, which is much enforced by *Anti-Episcopists*. And whereas the Animadvertor translated it *not as Bishops onely*, it is more then questionable, that this *interpolation ONLY* will not be admitted by such who have a mind curiously to examine the matter.

I protest my integrity herein, that I have not started these *Objections* of my selfe, having had them urged against me; and though I can give a bungling Answer unto them, I desire that the Animadvertor (being better skill'd in *Law*) would be pleased (if it ever comes again in his way) to returne an Answer as short and clear as the *Objections* are; and I, and many more, will be bound to returne him thanks.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, Fol. 196. *The Convocation now not fitting, and matters of Religion being brought under the cognizance of the Parliament, their Wisdoms adjudged it not onely convenient, but necessary, that some prime Clergy men might be consulted with.* It seems then, that the setting up of the new Assembly, consisting of certain Lords and Gentlemen, and two or more Divines out of every County, must be ascrib'd to the not fitting of the Convocation. Whereas if that had been the reason, the Convocation should have been first warned to re-assemble, with liberty and safe conducts given them, &c.

#### Fuller.

The Animadvertor now enters the list with the WISDOMS in *Parliament*, who are most able to justify their owne Act. Mean time my folly may stand by in silence, unconcerned to return any Answer.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

Fol. 198. *It savours something of a Prelaticall Spirit to be offended about Precedency.* I see our Author is no Changeling, *Primus ad extremum similis sibi*, the very same at last as he was at the first. Certainly, if it savour of a Prelaticall Spirit to contend about Precedencies, that Spirit by some Pythagorean Metempsychosis hath passed into the bodies of the Presbyterians, whose pride had swell'd them in conceit above Kings and Princes, and thus cometh home to our Author, &c.

#### Fuller.

If it cometh home unto me, I will endeavour God-willing to thrust it far from me, by avoiding the odious sin of *Pride*. And I hope the Presbyterians will herein make a reall and practicall refutation of this note, in Evidencing more *Humility* hereafter; seasonably remembring, they are grafted on the Stock of the Bishops, and are concerned *not to be high-minded but feare*; lest if God spared not *Episcopacy*, (for what sins I am not to enquire), peaceably possessed, above a Thousand years, of Power in the Church of England, take heed that he spare not *Presbytery* also, which is but a *Probationer* on its good behaviour, especially if by their insolence they offend God and disoblige our Nation, the generality whereof is not overfond of their Government.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, Fol. 203. *We listen not to their fancy who have reckoned the*



the words in the Covenant, six hundred sixty six, &c.] I must confesse my selfe not to be so much a *Pythagorean*, as to find Divinity in Numbers, nor am taken with such Mysteries as some fancy in them. And yet I cannot chuse but say, that the Number of Six hundred sixty six words, neither more nor less, which are found in the Covenant, though they conclude nothing, yet they signifie something. Our Author cannot chuse but know what pains were taken even in the times of *Irenæus* to find out *Antichrist* by this number: Some thinking then, that they had found it in *λατεις* with reference to the persecuting *Roman* Emperours. Some Protestants think that they had found it in a Dedication to Pope *Paul* the fifth, which was *Paulo V<sup>to</sup> Vice-Deo*; the numerall letters whereof, that is to say, D. C. L. V. V. V. I. amount exactly unto six hundred sixty six, which is the Number of the Beast in *Revelation*. The Papiſts on the other side find it in the name of *Luther*; but in what language or how speld, I remember not. And therefore whosoever he was, which made this Observation upon the Covenant, he deserves more to be commended for his wit, then condemned for his idleneſſe.

#### Fuller.

The Animadverſor might herein have allowed me the Liberty of *Preterition*, a familiar figure in all Authors, managed by them with, *Taceo, prætermitto, tranſeo, we paſſe by*, liſten not, &c. when relating things,

Either { *Parva, of ſmall moment,*  
*Nota, generally known,*  
*Ingrata, unwelcome to many Readers.*

Under which of theſe three notions, the point in hand doth fall, I am not bound to diſcover.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, Fol. 207. *Now began the great and generall purgation of the Clergy in the Parliaments Quarters, &c. Some of whoſe offences were ſo foul, it is a ſhame to report them, crying to juſtice for puniſhment.*] And it was time that ſuch a purgation ſhould be made, if their offences were ſo foul as our Author makes them. But firſt, our Author might have done well to have ſatiſfied himſelfe in all particulars, before he raiſ'd ſo foul a ſcandall on his Chriſtian Brethren, and not to have taken them up upon hear-ſay, or on no better grounds then the credit of the *firſt Century*, which he after mentions. Which modeſty he might have learnt, 1. From the Author of that ſcandalous and infamous Pamphlet, (whatſoever he was) deſiſting from the writing of a *ſecond Century*, as being ſenſible, that the Subject was generally odious. And certainly, if it were odious in that party to write the ſame, it muſt be much more odious in our Author to defend the writing. He might have learnt it, 2. from the moſt excellent Maſter in the Schools of Piety and Morality which this Age hath given us, even the King himſelfe; who as our Author telleth us, fol. 208. would not give way that any ſuch Book ſhould be written of the vicious lives of ſome Parliament Miniſters, when ſuch an undertaking was preſented to him. But if their Offences were ſo foul, the Writer of the Century had ſome reaſon for what he did, and our Author had ſome reaſon for what he ſaith, eſpecially if the putting in of one *Herb* had not ſpoil'd all the Pot of Portage. But firſt, *Qui alterum inculcat probri ſeipſum intueri oportet*, is a good rule in the Schools of Prudence, and therefore it concerns our Author to be ſure of this, that all things be well at home, both in his owne Perſon and in his Family, before he throw ſo much foul dirt in the face of his Brethren. In which reſpect *Manutius* was conceived to be the unfitteſt man in *Rome* (as indeed he was) to perform the Office of a *Cenſor*, though moſt ambitiouſly he affected and attain'd that Dignity; of whom it is affirmed by *Velleius Paterculus*, *Nec quicquam objicere potuit Adoleſcentibus quod non agnoſceret Senex*, that is to ſay, that he was able to object no crime to the younger ſort, of which himſelfe being then well in years, was not alſo guilty. And ſecondly,

Non

*Non temere de fratre mali aliquid credendum esse*, was anciently a Rule in the Schools of Charity; which our Author either hath forgotten; or else never learned. He would otherwise have examin'd the Proofs, before he had pronounced the Sentence; and not have positively condemned these poor men for such foul offences as cryed to justice for punishment; and of such scandalous enormities, as were not fit to be covered with the Mantle of Charity. But he takes himselfe up at last with a doubt, that there might want sufficient proof to convict them of it. Nothing (saith he) can be said in their excuse, if (what was the main matter) their crimes were sufficiently proved. And if they were not sufficiently proved, as indeed they were not, (no witnesse coming in upon Oath to make good the Charge) our Author hath sufficiently prov'd himselfe an *unrighteous Judge*, an *Accusator fratrum*, as we know who is, in accusing and condemning them for scandalous enormities and foul offences, branding them by the name of *Baal*, and calling them *unlawful Salt*, not fit to be thrown upon the Dunghill, yet all this while to be unsatisfied in the sufficiency of the proof. *Decedis ab Officio Religiosi Judicis*, is the least that can be said here; and I say no more. Onely I note, what sport was made by that Century then, and may be made hereafter of this part of the History, in the Court of Rome; to which the libellous Pamphlets of *Martin-Mar-Prelate*, publisht in Queen Elizabeths time, serv'd for Authentick Witnesse, and sufficient evidence to disgrace this Church. Nor have they spar'd to look upon this whole businesse as an act of divine Retaliation, in turning so many of the Regular and Orthodox Clergy out of their Benefices and Preferments by our new Reformers, under colour of some Scandalous Enormities by them committed; under pretence whereof so many poor Monks and Fryers were (as they say) turn'd out of their Cells with like humanity by those which had the first hammering of the Reformation here by law establisht.

### Fuller.

First, as to my selfe, who am most knowing of my owne infirmities: I will confesse them to God, and not plead for them before man. If God's restraining grace hath bridled me from Scandalous obnoxiousnesse, may he alone have the honour thereof. As for other gaines and spots in my Soul, I hope that He, (be it spoken without the least verball reflection) who is the \* Fullers sope will scourge them forth with his Merit, that I may appear clean by Gods Mercy.

\* Mal. 3. 2.

Rev. 12. 13.

I know full well who it is, that is tearmed the Accuser of his Brethren, even Satan himself; Hence it is that one observeth, he hath his name, *Διαβολος*, *Diabolus*, Divell, and so also in Italian, French, Spanish, with some small variation. It being good reason, that he should keep his name in all Countries, who keeps his nature in all places being a constant delator and traducer of Gods servants; often, without cause; alwayes, without measure.

But I hope, I may say in this point, *Get thee behind me Satan*, I meane, I may justly thrust both Name and Thing farre from me, even to light where it deserveth.

Some of my Brethren, or Fathers rather, I reverence and admire for their eminences: others I commend and will endeavour to imitate: others guilty of humane infirmities, I desire to conceale their faults, and (that not taking effect) to excuse their persons. Such as are past my pleading for, fall under my pity and have my Prayers that God would amend them: But willingly, much lesse causlessly, I will not accuse any; and my Pen and Tongue hath been, and shall be tender of their Reputations.

Proceed I now to what I have written concerning the Sequestred Clergy of England; wherein I will freely, God-willing, unbosome my mind, and if I perish I perish: I appeal to the Searcher of hearts, if I did not desire to do them all just favour, as I hope to find favour from him when I most need it. But as Marriners when they have both Wind and Tide against them, cannot make their desired Port in a straight Line, and therefore are faine to fetch a compass; Soberly,



Semnably, I desiring to *gratifie my Brethren*, and *not destroy my selfe*; was iaine to go about, that in any measure I might with safety do it. And there was no compassing of it without *compassing* it; No reaching the End without going out of the way.

First, therefore, I did acknowledge what *indeed* could not be concealed, and what *in truth* must be confessed, viz. That some of the ejected Clergy were guilty of foul offences, to whom, and whom alone, the name of Baal and *unsavoury Salt* did relate: Nor was it a wonder, if amongst *Ten Thousand* and more, some were guilty of *Scandalous enormities*.

This being laid down, and *yielded* to the violence of the times; I wrought my selfe by degrees, (as much as I durst) to insert what followeth in vindication of many others, rigorously cast out for following in their *affections*, their preceding *Judgements* and *Consciences*, and no scandall could justly be charged upon them, pleading for them as ensueth.

Church-History, Book 11. pag. 207.

1. "The witnesses against them were seldome depofed on Oath, but their bare complaints believed.

2. "Many of the Complainers were *factions People*, (those most accusing their Sermons who least heard them), and who since have deserted the Church, as hating the profession of the Ministry.

3. "Many were charged with delivering *false Doctrines*, whose *Positions* were found at the least disputable. Such, those accused for Preaching that *Baptism* washeth away *Originall Sin*, which the most learned and honest in the Assembly, in some sense, will not deny, namely that in the Children of God it cleanseth the *condemning* and *finall peaceable* commanding power of *Originall Sin*, though the *stain* and *blemish* thereof doth still remain.

4. "Some were meerly outed for their affections to the King's Cause; and what was *Malignity* at *London*, was *Loyalty* at *Oxford*.

5. "Yea many Moderate men of the opposite party, much bemoaned such severity; that some Clergy men, blameless for life, and Orthodox for Doctrine, were ejected onely on the account of their faithfullnesse to the King's cause. And, as much corruption was let out by this Ejection (many scandalous Ministers deservedly punished); so at the same time the Veins of the English Church were empried of Much *good blood*, (some inoffensive Pastors) which hath made her Body *Hydropicall* ever since; ill humours succeeding in the room, by reason of too large and suddain evacuation.

This being written by me, some *ten* (in the *Paroxysm* of the Business) and printed *some* four years since, was as much as then I durst say for my *Brethren*, without running my selfe into apparent danger.

If the Papists take advantage at what I have written, I can wash my Hands, I have given them no just occasion; and I hope this my just defence will prove satisfactory to the ingenuous, That I did not *designedly* detract from any of my *Brethren*. But, if this my Plea finds no acceptance, and if I must groan under so unjust an accusation, I will endeavour to follow the Counsell of the \* Prophet: I will beare the Indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against Him, until He plead my Cause and execute Judgment for me: He will bring me forth to the Light, and I shall behold his righteousness. Mich. 7. 9.

## Dr. Heylyn.

But to say truth, It is no wonder, if he concurre with others in the Condemnation of particular persons, since he concurs with others in the condemnation of the Church it selfe. For, speaking of the separation made by Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, &c. fol. 209. he protesteth that, he rather doth believe that the *sinfull corruptions of the worship and Government of this Church, taking hold on their Consciences, and their inability to comport any longer therewith*, was rather the true cause of their deserting of their Country, then that it was for *Debt or Danger*, as Mr. Edwards in his Book, had suggested of them. What grounds Mr. Edwards had for his suggestion, I enquire not now; though coming from the Pen of one who was no friend unto the Government and Liturgy of the Church of England, it might have met with greater credit in our Author. For if these men be not allowed for witnesses against one another, the Church would be in worse condition then the antient *Borderers*: Amongst whom though the testimony of an *English Man* against a *Scot*, or of a *Scot* against the *English* (in matters of spoil and depredation) could not find admittance; yet a *Scot's* evidence against a *Scot*, was beyond exception. *Lege inter Limitaneos cantum, ut nullus nisi Anglus in Anglum, nullus nisi Scotus in Scorum testis admitatur*, as we read in Camden. We see by this, as by other passages, which way our Author's Bowl is biased, how constantly he declares himselfe in favour of those, who have either separated from the Church, or appear'd against it. Rather then such good people shall be thought to forsake the Land for *Debt or Danger*, the Church shall be accus'd for laying the heavy burthen of *Conformity* upon their *Consciences*, which neither they, nor their fore-fathers, (the old *English Puritans*) were resolved to bear. For what else were those *sinfull Corruptions* of this Church in *Government and Worship*, which laid hold of their *Consciences*, (as our Author words it) but the Government of the Church by Bishops, the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church here by law establish'd; which yet must be allowed of by our Author as the more true and reall cause of their *Separation*, then that which we find in Mr. Edwards?

## Fuller.

I knew Mr. Edwards very well, my contemporary in *Queens Colledge* who often was transported beyond due bounds with the *keenness* and *eagerness* of his spirit; and therefore I have just cause in some things to suspect him; especially being informed and assured the contrary from credible persons.

As for the five dissenting Members, Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, Mr. Symphon, Mr. Bridge, Mr. Burroughs, (to whom Mr. Archer may be reduced) they owed not *eighteen pence* apiece to any in England; and carried over with them no contemptible summs in their purses.

As for Lay-Gentlemen, and Merchants, that went over with them, such as peruse their names, will be satisfied in their responsible, yea, plentiful Estates.

Sr. MATTHEW BOINTON.

Sr. WILLIAM CONSTABLE.

Sr. RICHARD SALTINGTON.

Mr. LAWRENCE, since Lord President of the Council.

Mr. ANDREWES, since Lord Major of London.

Mr. BOWRCHER.

Mr. ASK, since a Judge.

Mr. JAMES.

Mr. WHITE.

And



And although the *lust* of these *failed* beyond the Seas, (a *catching Casualty* with great *undertakings*) yet was he known to have a very great Estate at his going over.

Yea, I am most credibly inform'd, by such who (I am confident) will not abuse me, and posterity therein, that Mr. Herbert Palmer, (an *Anti-Independent* to the height) being convinced, that Mr. Edwards had printed some false-hoods in one sheet of his *Gangrena*, proffered to have that sheet re-printed at his own cost, but some intervening accident obstructed it.

Dr. Heylyn.

Nor can our Author save himselfe by his *parenthesis*, in which he tells us, that he *uses their language* onely: For using it without check or censure, he makes it his own as well as theirs, and justifies them in the action, which he should have condemn'd.

Fuller.

This is an *Hypercriticism* which I never heard of before, and now do not believe. In opposition whereunto I return, that if a Writer doth slyly *weave* another Author's words into his owne *cloak*, using them without any quotation, then indeed he adopts them his owne.

Secondly, If he cite the words, with *Commendation*, or *explicite approbation* of them, then also he *affelfeth* them, undertakes for them, and is bound to justify them.

Thirdly, But if he but barely cite the words, without any *Emphasis* of praise or *dispraise*, (the case now in hand) it amounts to no more, then unto a *valeat quantum valere potest*, or a *Sit fides penes Authorem*, it being left to the Reader's Liberty, to believe more or lesse, or nothing thereof; as the Author he citeth, seemeth to be more, or lesse, or not at all credible, to his *Discretion*.

Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, Fol. 216. *As appears by his own Diary, which is evidence against him for his faults, may be used as a witness of his good works.*] The Diary which our Author speaks of, was the Arch-bishops practicall Commentary on those words of David, viz. *Teach me O Lord so to number my dayes, that I may apply my heart unto wisdom.*

Fuller.

I appeal to the Reader of my History, whether I have not given his *Diary*, the *due commendation* thus writing thereof.

Book I. page. 218.

"He was conscientious, according to the Principles of his Devotion; witness his  
 "care in keeping a constant Diary of the passages in his Life. Now he can hardly be an  
 "ill Husband, who summes up his receipts and expences every night; and such a  
 "Soul is, or would be good, which enters daily into a Scrutiny of his own Actions.  
 "Now an exact Diary is a Window into his Heart who maketh it; and therefore  
 "pitty it is that any should look therein, but either the friends of the party, or such  
 "Ingenuous foes as will not (especially in things doubtful) make conjecturall Com-  
 "ments to his disgrace.

Dr.

Dr. Heylyn.

No memorable passage hapned in the whole course of his life, till the end of May, 1633. (when his Papers were seized on by Mr. *Prin*) which he had not book'd in a Memorall by the way of a Diary, or Journall. Out of which, though Mr. *Prin* excerpted nothing but that which he conceiv'd might tend most visibly to his disgrace and disadvantage, and publish'd it to that end in print; yet when it came to the perusal of equall and indifferent men, it was so far from serving as an evidence of his faults, (as our Author words it) that it shew'd him to be a Man of Exemplary Piety in himselfe, unmov'd fidelity to his friend, of most perfect loyalty to his Master, and honest affections to the Publick, &c.

Fuller.

If I were delighted in carping at slips of Pen or Presse, I here have advantage enough, the *Animadversor* affirming, that the Arch-bishop's papers were seized by Mr. *Prin*,

1633.

At which time Mr. *Prin* was in no capacity to make such a seizure, being himselfe in trouble about his *Histiomastix*, and the date (though not confessed in the *Errata*) is no doubt mis-printed for 1643. Thus I behold him who carps at such trifles, like one lacing his *Nightgown* for *Pedibus ambulando*, when, though the jury must find for the *Plaintiffe*, yet he is look'd on but as a vexatious Person for his paines. I could wish that all caviling at *Prelat* mistakes might be forborn, and that every one would read his *Adversaries Book*, as in his Conscience he conceiveth it intended by the *Writer*, that so waving all *Typographicall escapes*, they may come the sooner to the Cause controverted betwixt them.

Dr. Heylyn.

He that shall look upon the list of the things projected to be done, and in part done, by him, fol. 28, 29. will find, that both his heart was set on, and his hand engag'd in, many excellent pieces of work, tending to the great honour and benefit both of Church and State; not incident to a man of such narrow comprehensions, as some of his profest Enemies were pleas'd to make him. Certain I am, that as Mr. *Prin* lost his end, so he could not get much thanks for that piece of service.

Fuller.

If Mr. *Prin* lost his end, he shall have no direction from me for the finding thereof.

I never beheld the Arch-bishop, as a man of narrow Comprehensions, but as one who had in his Head and Heart Storage enough for great undertakings. Onely I could wish that his Apprehensions, had been adequate to his Comprehensions; I mean, that he had lived to perfect what he projected, and doe what he commendably designed for pious uses, and the publick good.

Dr.



## Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author goes on, Fol. 217. *He is generally charged with Popish inclinations, and the story is commonly told and believ'd of a Lady, &c.* Here is a charge of the Archbishops inclination unto Popery, and the proof nothing but a tale, and the tale of a Lady,

*Quid vento? Mulier; Quid Muliere? Nihil.*

The substance of the tale is this, that a certain Lady (if any Lady may be certain) who turning Papist, &c.

## Fuller.

I will take the Boldnesse to English his Latine Verse, that the weaker Sex may see the strength of his Charity unto them.

*What's more sickle than the Wind?*

*Ev'n a Woman in her Mind.*

*Fickler what's than Woman Kind?*

*Nothing in the World we find.*

## Dr. Heylyn.

This Lady who turned Papist was askt by the Arch-bishop the cause of her changing; to which she answered, that it was *because she alwayes hated to go in a croud.* And being askt the meaning of that expression, she replied again, that she perceiv'd his Lordship, and many others, making haste to Rome; and therefore to prevent going in a press, she had gone before them. Whether this tale be true or false, though he doth not know, yet he resolves to set it down, and to set it down also with this Item, that it was generally believ'd. Be it so for once.

## Fuller.

This *Sarcasm* was put upon him, by a Lady, now living in London, and a Countess, whose Husbands father the Arch-bishop married, and thereby brought much trouble and molestation to himselfe. No *Oedipus* needeth to unriddle the Person, easily spel't by putting the Premises together.

## Dr. Heylyn.

For not being able to disprove it, I shall quit our Author with one story, and satisfie the equal Reader with another. First for my Author, I have heard a tale of a Lady too, to whose Table one Mr. Fuller was a welcome though a frequent guest; and being asked once by her, Whether he would please to eat the wing of a Woodcock, he would needs put her to the question, how her Ladyship knew it was a Woodcock, and not a Wood-ben. And this he pressed with such a troublesome importunity, that at last the Lady answered with some shew of displeasure, that the Woodcock was Fuller headed, Fuller breasted, Fuller thighed, and in a word, every way Fuller. Whether this tale be true or false, I am not able to say; but being generally believ'd, I have set it down also.

## Fuller.

His Tale doth not Quit mine, which was True, and New, never printed before. Whereas his is Old, (made it seemes on one of my Name, printed before I was born,) and false, never by Man or woman retorted on me.

However if it doth Quit mine, He is now but Even with me; and hereafter I shall be ABOVE him, by forbearing any bitter Return.

I had rather my Name should make many causelessly merry, then any justly sad, and seeing it lyeth equally open and obvious to praise and dispraise, I shall as little be elated when flattered, Fuller of wit and learning, as dejected when flouted, Fuller of folly and ignorance.

All this, which the Animadverſor hath said on my Name, I behold as nothing: and as the Anagram of his Name, HEYLYN, NE HILL, NOTHING-worth.

Q q q

Dr.

## Dr. Heylyn.

But my other story is more serious, intended for the satisfaction of our Author, and the Reader both. It was in *November, Anno 1639.* that I receiv'd a message from the Lord *Archbishop*, to attend him the next day at two of the clock in the afternoon. The Key being turn'd which opened the way into his Study, I found him sitting in a chair, holding a paper in both hands, and his eyes to fix upon that paper, that he observ'd me not at my coming in. Finding him in that posture, I thought it fit and manners to retire again. But the noise I made by my retreat, bringing him back unto himselfe, he recall'd me again, and told me after some short pause, that he well remembered that he had sent for me, but could not tell for his life what it was about. After which he was pleas'd to say (not without tears standing in his eyes,) that he had then newly receiv'd a letter acquainting him with a Revolt of a Person of some Quality in *North-Wales*, to the Church of *Rome*; that he knew that the increase of Popery by such frequent Revolts, would be imputed unto him, and his Brethren the Bishops, who were all least guilty of the same; that for his part he had done his utmost, so far forth as it might consist with the Rules of Prudence, and the Preservation of the Church, to suppress that party, and to bring the chief sticklers in it to condign punishment, to the truth whereof (lifting up his wet eyes to Heaven) he took God to witnesse; conjuring me (as I would answer it to God at the day of Judgement) that if ever I came to any of those places, which he, and his Brethren, by reason of their great age, were not like to hold long, I would imploy all such abilities as God had given me in suppressing that party, who by their open undertakings, and secret practices, were like to be the ruine of this flourishing Church. After some words of mine upon that occasion, I found some argument to divert him from those sad remembrances, and having brought him to some reasonable composednesse, I took leave for the present; and some two or three dayes after waiting on him again, he then told me the reason of his sending for me the time before. And this I deliver for a truth on the faith of a Christian; which I hope will over-balance any Evidence which hath been brought to prove such *Popish inclinations*, as he stands generally charg'd with in our Author's History.

## Fuller.

I verily believe all, and every one of these Passages to be true, and therefore may proceed.

## Dr Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, Fol. 217. *However most apparent it is by many passages in his life, that he endeavoured to take up many controversies betwixt us and the Church of Rome.* And this indeed is *Novum Crimen*, that is to say, a crime of a new stamp, never coyn'd before.

## Fuller.

I call it not *Novum Crimen*, which I believe was, in him, (according to his Principles, *Pium Propositum*; but, let me also add, was *Frustraneus Conatus*: and that not onely, *ex Eventu*, (because it did not,) but *ex Natura Rei*, because it could not take Effect; such the reall *Unreconcilableness*, betwixt us and *Rome*.

## Dr. Heylyn.

I thought, that when our Saviour said *Beati Pacifici*, it had been sufficient warrant unto any man to endeavour Peace, to build up the breaches in the Church, and to make *Jerusalem* like a City which is at Unity in it selfe; especially where it may be done not onely *salva charitate*, without breach of charity, but *salva fide* too, without wrong to the faith. The greatest part of the Controversies betwixt us and the Church of *Rome*, not being in the Fundamentals, or in  
any



any Essentiall Points in the Christian Religion; I cannot otherwise look upon it, but as a most Christian pious work; to endeavour an atonement in the Superstructures. But hereof our Author seems to doubt, first whether such endeavours to agree and compose the differences, be lawfull or not; and secondly, whether they be possible.

**Fuller.**

I confesse Scripture pronounceth the Peace-makers blessed. In answer *Math. 5.* whereunto I will take no notice of *Jehu* his Tart return to K. \* *Joram*, *what* \* *2 King. 9. 21.* *peace so long as the whoredomes of thy Mother Jezabel, and her witchcrafts are so many?* Rather will I make use of the Calme Counsell of the \* *Apostle*, *If it be* \* *Rom. 12. 18.* *POSSIBLE, as much as in you lieth, live Peaceably with all Men.* Which words, [if it be possible] intimate an impossibility of Peace, with some Natures, in some differences, though good men have done what lyeth (understand it, Lawfully) in their power to performe: such sometimes the forwardnesse of one (though the forwardnesse of the other) side to Agreement, which is the true state of the Controversie betwixt us and Rome.

**Dr. Heylyn.**

As for the lawfulness thereof, I could never see any reason produc'd against it, nor so much as any question made of it till I found it here.

**Fuller.**

All such zealous Authors who charge the Papists with Idolatry, (and the Animadversor knowes well, Who they are) do question the Lawfulness of such an Agreement.

**Dr. Heylyn.**

Against the possibility thereof, it hath been objected, that such, and so great is the pride of the Church of Rome, that they will condescend to nothing. And therefore if any such composition or agreement be made, it must not be by their meeting us, but our going to them.

**Fuller.**

I remember, some (then present,) have told me of a passage at a disputation in Oxford. When Dr. *Prideaux* pressed home an Argument, to which the \* *Answerer* returned *Reverende Professor, memini me legisse hoc ipsissimum Argumentum apud Bellarminum. At, mi fili* (returned that Dr.), *ubi legisti Responsum?* This Ob- \* *Mr. 1. 5b.* *jection* the Animadversor acknowledgeth he hath formerly met with: but where did he meet with a satisfactory Answer thereunto?

Let me add; It is not onely the Pride of the Church of Rome, which will not let goe her Power; but also her Covetousnesse, which will not part with her Profit, which obstructeth all accommodation betwixt us. And if the Church of Rome would, the Court of Rome, will not, quit the Premises; and the latter hath an irresistible influence on the former. In this point, the Court of Rome, is like the Country-man, who willingly put his Cause to Arbitration; but on this condition, to have all the Land he sued for, with the full profits thereof, to a minute past, and his own costs and charges to a farthing. Such and no other agreement, will the court of Rome condescend unto.

**Dr. Heylyn.**

But as our Author sayeth, that many of the Arch-bishops Equals adjudged that designe of his to be impossible; so I may say (without making any such odious Comparisons) that many of our Author's betters have thought otherwise of it.

**Fuller.**

## Fuller.

Amongst which many of his *Betters*, the *Animadverſor* undoubtedly is one of the Principal. Be it ſo, I will endeavour to be as good as I can, and will not envy but honour my *Betters* whoſe number God increaſe. Sure I am, amongst theſe many of my *Betters*, the difference betwixt us and the *Papiſts* is made never a whit the better, there remaining ſtill *μεγαλειαι*: and though many may manifeſt much good wil, to advance, nothing hath taken Effect to compleate ſuch a compoſition.

## Dr. Heylyn.

It was the *Petulancy* of the *Puritans* on the one ſide, and the *pragmaticalneſs* of the *Jefuits* on the other ſide, which made the breach wider than it was at firſt: and had theſe hot Spirits on both ſides been charmed a while, moderate Men might poſſibly have agreed on ſuch equal terms, as would have laid a ſure foundation for the peace of *Chriſtendome*.

## Fuller.

Let us behold the *Originall breach* betwixt the Church of *Rome* and *Us*. I name the Church of *Rome* firſt, becauſe confident they cauſed it; ſo that we may ſay unto them, *Pharez*, The breach be upon them. This breach was made before either *Puritans* or *Jefuits* ever appeared in *England*. As the *Animadverſor* ſkill'd in their dates knoweth full well. It is therefore ſuſpicious that the Wound which was made before theſe parties were in being will continue, if both of them were extinct.

I behold the Colledge of *Sorboniſts* in *Paris* as far from *Jefuitical pragmaticalneſs* and *Dr. I. Coſens*, as one free from *puritanical petulancy*. Yet though the ſaid Doctor hath complied with them ſo far as he could doe with *Chriſtian prudence*, ſcilicet *à conſcientiâ*; And though the *Sorboniſts* are beheld as the moſt learned and moderate *Papiſts*; yet I cannot hear of any *Accommodation* betwixt them, but rather the contrary, even in the point of the *Apocrypha* (a controverſie ſo learnedly canvafed by the *D. Hor*) they being as unwilling to allow ſo few, as he ſo many Books in the Bible to be *Canonical*.

And here, let me be the *Animadverſor's Remembrancer*, (of what perchance he would willingly forget) how it was not long ſince he reviv'd me for ſaying, that the difference about the poſture of the *Communion Table*, might be accommodated with mutual moderation; and now he holdeth, By the ſame means, an expedient betwixt us and the *Papiſts* may be advanced.

## Dr. Heylyn.

Moderate Men might poſſibly have agreed on ſuch equal termes; as would have laid a ſure foundation for the Peace of *Chriſtendome*.

## Fuller.

My name is *Thomas*. It maketh me the more diſtruſt thereof, becauſe I ſee at this day moſt cruel Wars, betwixt the Crowns of *Spain* and *France*, both which agree to the height in the ſame *Romiſh Religion*. I am ſorry their differences are paralleled with a ſadder inſtance, of the deadly Wars betwixt the *Swede* and *Dane*, both *Lutherans* alike. And our Sea Wars betwixt us and the *Hollander*, (both wel paid for) are not yet forgotten. All I collect is this; that if the agreement betwixt us and *Papiſts* were expedited to morrow; yet ſo long as there be ſeverall Greatneſſes in *Chriſtendome*, there will be ſtillings betwixt them. And although they are plea'd to ſcore their differences (for the greater credit) on the account of *Conſcience*, and *Religion*; yet what ſaith *St. James*, From whence \* comes Warres and fightings amongst you? Come they not hence, even of your Luſts, that war in your members? And it is a ſad truth, Such the corruption of humane Nature, that Mens Lives and Luſts will laſt and end together.

Dr. Heylyn

\* James. 4.



## Dr. Heylyn.

Now that all these in the Church of Rome, are not so stiffly wedded to their own Opinions as our Author makes them, appears first by the Testimony of the Archbishop of Spalato declaring in the high Commission, a little before his going hence, that *He acknowledged the Articles of the Church of England to be true, or profitable at the least, and none of them Heretical.*

## Fuller.

The Animadvertor hath instanced in an ill Person, and in an ill time of the same Person. It was just when he was a taking his return to his vomit, and to leave the Land, When knowing himselfe obnoxious, and justly under the lash (for his covetous compliance with forreign Invitations) of King James; to get leave to be gone, he would say any thing here; and unsay it againe, elsewhere. As little heed is to be given to such a Proteus, as hold is to be taken of Him.

## Dr. Heylyn.

It appears secondly by a Tractate of *Franciscus de Sancta Clara*, (as he calleth himself) in which he putteth such a Glosse upon the nine and thirty Articles of the Church of England, as rendreth them not inconsistent with the Doctrines of the Church of Rome.

## Fuller.

By that Parenthesis [*as he calleth himselfe*] it is left suspitious, that his true Name was other wise. And he who would not use his own but a false Name, might (for ought I know) put a false Glosse upon our Articles; and though he PUTTE TH such a sense upon them, it is questionable whether our Articles will accept thereof. To PUT something upon, sometimes answers to the Latin word IMPONERE, which is to deceive and delude, and sometimes is Equivalent to our English word IMPOSE, which soundeth the forceable or fraudulent Obtruding of a thing, against the Will and Mind of Him, or That, whereon it is imposed. Lastly, the Animadvertor cannot warrant us, that the rest of the Church of Rome will consent to the Judgement of *Franciscus de Sancta Clara*; and if not, then is the breach betwixt us, left as wide as it was before.

## Dr. Heylyn.

And if without Prejudice to the Truth, the Controversies might have been composed, it is most probable that other Protestant Churches would have sued by their Agents to be included in the Peace.

## Fuller.

The Animadvertor's Prudent and Politick Probability that other Protestant Churches would, by their Agents, sollicite an Inclusion into such a peace, mindeth me of the Distich writ on the sumptuous Cradle, gorgeously trimmed for the Child of Queen Mary by Philip King of Spain.

*Quam Mariæ Sobolem, Deus Optime Summe, dedisti;  
Anglis incolumem redde, tuere, rege.*

O may the Child, to Mary God hath given;

For ENGLANDS good be guarded safe by Heaven.

Whereas indeed this Child, pretended at white-hall, may be said born at Non-such, proving nothing but a Mock-mother-Tympany.

I cannot but commend the kindnesse and care of the Animadvertor, for keeping this Babe when born; I mean the agreement betwixt Us and the Papists. But let us behold it born, see it first affected, and then we shall know, whether forreign Protestant Churches will dandle this Infant, or destroy it; I mean whether

R r r

they

they will declare for, or Protest and remonstrate against it. It will be time enough, then, for both our Survivor to return an answer.

Dr. Heylyn.

If not, the Church of England had lost nothing by it, as being HATED by the Calvinists, and not lov'd by the Lutherans.

Fuller.

Short and sharp, much matter in few words, and little Truth in much Matter. Our Church of England in Relation to forraign Protestant Churches is here by the *Animadverſor* represented in a strange posture; like another \* *Iſhmael*, whose hand was against every one, and every one's against Him.

That our Church is not HATED by the Calvinists appears by many and plain passages in the Books of those who are *doublets* *seem* Pillars amongst them Calvin, Beza, Zanchy, Deodat, Mollinew, &c. who (notwithstanding some small differences betwixt us) lovingly give us the Right hand of Fellowship.

The *Animadverſor* discovers himself as little States-man as Divine in advising the Church of England, by making Foes of her Friends, to make Friends of her Foes; by incurring the Enmity of forraign Protestants, thereby to procure the Amity of Papists.

The best is, there is no danger to see that day. The poor Woman in the Gospel, was troubled with a double Issue, the *out* of Blood, the Life in her Body, and the *other* of Money, the Life-blood of her Estate; but the \* latter was quickly stanch'd having spent all her Living on Physicians to no purpose. Thus successleſſe have their pains proved hitherto, who have endeavour'd an accommodation betwixt us and Rome, so that the Wound betwixt us may justly be beheld as incurable.

Dr. Heylyn.

But our Author will not here desist (so soon hath he forgotten his own Rule made in the case of Mr. Love) and therefore mustereth up his faults, viz. 1. *Pasſion*, though an humane frailty, 2. *His Severity to his Predecessor*, easing him before his time, and against his will, of his jurisdiction: 3. *His over-medling in State-matters*: 4. *His imposing of the Scottish Liturgy*. Of all which we have spoke so much upon other Occasions, that is to say, Numb. 246. 251. 289. 259. and therefore do not count it necessary to adde any thing here.

Fuller.

I shall, God willing, remember and practise my Rule in the Case of Mr. Love, when the *Animadverſor* I fear will be found to have forgotten it: here are four faults of the Arch-bishop mustered up by me; and is it not a thin Muster indeed? When a Gentleman was told, that he would be much ashamed, if all his faults were written in his forehead; he (in my Mind) modestly, and wittily replied, that he should be right glad that his Face could hold them all: Happy is that man whose faults may be reduced to the number of Four.

I have in my Reply to the forecited pages of the *Animadverſor*, returned my answer unto them; and therefore, to use his language, account it unnecessary to adde any thing here.

I have done no wrong to the Arch-bishop's Memory, if I have charged him with four faults, and to overpoize them, have given him many Commendations, in several places of my Book, which here I will sum up to confute that Loud and late Untruth of the *Animadverſor*, when saying,

Page. 218.

Our Author gives us nothing of this PRELATE but his WANTS and WEAKNESSES.

The Praise I gave him is reducible to four heads, NATURALLS or Corporalls about



about his Body or Person; MORALS or Civills touching his demeanor to others; INTELLECTUALLES, whether Innate or Acquisite by his own Industry; SPIRITUALLES or Supernaturally to which his Benefactions (as the fruit of a Lovely Faith) are reduced.

\* All these Quotations are taken out of the eleventh Book of my Church History.

NATHANALS.	MORALS.	INTELLECTUALLES.	SPIRITUALLES.
1. Nephew to a Lord Major of LONDON therefore not basely Born, page two hundred and sixteen, Paragraph. 71.	6. He was temperate in his dyet, pag. 218. parag. 78.	16. He had a cleare Judgement, pag. 119. parag. 84.	20. A strict Observer of the Lords-day in his own Person, pag. 147. para. 38.
2. Chearfull in countenance. Page. 119. paragraph. 84.	7. Chaste in his Conversation, ibid.	17. Of a firme Memory, ibid.	21. Moderate in pressing the Book of Sports in his owne Diocese, ibid. par. 41.
3. A sharpe and piercing eye, Ibidem.	8. Plaine in his Apparel, ibid. parag. 79.	18. One of the greatest Schollars of our Nation, page. 216. par. 71.	22. A worthy Instrument in moving King Charles to so pious a work as the restoring of the Irish Impropriations, pag. 149. parag. 45.
4. Gravity and quicknesse were well compounded in his Face, Ibidem.	9. Not preferring his owne Kindred without merit, ib. pa. 80.	19. Having an Experimentall knowledge of all conditions of Clergy-men, page. 217. par. 72.	
5. So chearfull his Countenance (when ascending the Scaffold) as rather to gain a Crown than lose his Head, page. 215. parag. 68.	10. Promoting Men of Learning and Abilities, ibid.		
	11. Covetousnesse he perfectly hated, ibid. parag. 81.		
	12. Had no project to raise a Name or Family, ibid.		
	13. Abridged Courtiers Bribes, pag. 218. parag. 76.		
	14. But not their Fees for Church Preferments, ibid.		
	15. Not ambitious as appears by his refusing a CARDINAL'S CAP once and again offered him, page. 149. parag. 47.		

Thus I did vwrite in his due praise as much as I durst, and though lesse then his Friends expected, more than I am thanked for. All I vwill adde is this, seeing his Head vvas cut off by the Axe, it had been madnesse in me to run my Neck into the Halter, in taxing those of cruelty and unjustice, vvhich caused his Execution.

Dr. Heylyn.

And so I leave him to his Rest, in the BOSOME OF ABRAHAM in the LAND OF THE LIVING.

Fuller.

Bosome of Abraham, is a Scripture-Expression, to signifie the repose of the souls of such Saints, vvhio departed this life before the ascension of our Saviour into Heaven. Where ever the bosome of Abraham be, it is good to be there; and hence it is frequently used by the Fathers, to denote the happy condition even of such vvhich departed in the Faith since Christs ascension. *Quicquid illud est*, (saith Confess. lib. St. 9. cap. 3.

St. Augustine) quod illo significatur sinu, ibi Nebridius meus vir, dulcis amicus, meus. For the main, it is a Synonymon vvith Heavens, and probably all the persons therein, are receptive of a higher degree of Glory after the Day of Judgment.

LAND OF THE LIVING, is an Old Testament-Phrase; vvhich some narrow-breasted Commentators have confin'd to Temporal Happinesse, but importeth much more in my Opinion even final Felicity, as may appear by \* David his Expression. I had fainted unlesse I had beleev'd to see the goodness of the Lord in the LAND OF THE LIVING.

I have stay'd the longer in the Stating of these two Expressions, that I may the more safely and sincerely concur, as I do, with the Animadverſor's charity in the final Estate of this Prelate: with vvhoſe Memory my Pen here makes no Truce, but a perfect peace, never hereafter to let the least disgracefull drop of Inke to fall upon it.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

From the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, I should proceed to Dr. Williams, Arch-bishop of York; but that I must first remove a Block which lyes in my Way. Our Author having told us of the making and Printing the Directory, is not content to let us see the cold entertainment which it found when it came abroad, but lets us see it in such terms as wee did not looke for.

#### Fuller.

This Block is no bigger then a Straw, so that a flea may leap over it: but the Animadverſor is pleas'd to see all things thorough a Magnifying-Glasse, as will appear hereafter.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

Fol. 222. Such (saith our Author) was, call it constancy, or obstinacy, love or dotting of the generality of the Nation, on the Common prayer, that the Parliament found it fit, yea necessary, to back their former Ordinance with a second. Assuredly, the generality of the people of England is much beholding to our Author, for making Question, whether their adhering to the Liturgy, then by Law established, were not to be imputed rather to Obſtinacy and Dotting, than to Love and Constancy?

#### Fuller.

It is no Question in my Judgement or Conscience, when it is out of all Question, as either never started or soon decided therein: but a Question it is in the practise of our distracted age, which I behold like the City of Ephesus, \* Some cryed one thing some another, for the Assembly was confus'd. Till this Tumult be appeas'd, I desire to stand by in silence, and give every Man his own words. Some call Constancy and Love, which side I doe seem secretly to favour, for giving it the upper hand, and naming it in the first place. Others call it Obſtinacy and Dotting, as they are severally perswaded. What is my Offence, or where is the Block the Animadverſor complaineth of, as if he needed to call for Leavers to remove it?

#### Dr. Heylyn.

The Liturgy had been lookt on as a great Blessing of God upon this Nation, by the Generality of People, for the space of fourscore years and upwards; they found it established by the Law, seal'd by the Blood of those that made it, confirm'd by many Godly and Religious Princes; and had almost no other forme of making their addresses to Almighty God, but what was taught them in the Book of Common Prayer. And could any discreet man think, or wise man hope, that a Form of Prayer, so universally receiv'd, and so much esteem'd, could be laid by without Reluctancy in those who had been so long accustomed to it? or called Obſtinacy or Dotting in them, if they did not presently submit to every New Nothing, which in the Name of the then disputable Authority should be laid before them.



them. And though our *Author* doth professe, that in the *Agitating* of this *Controversie pro and Con*, he will reserve his *private opinion* to himselfe; yet he discovers it too plainly in the present passage. *Quid verba audiam, cum facta videam?* is a good rule here. He must needs shew his private Opinion in this point, say he what he can; who makes a *Question*, whether the *Adhesion* of the People generally to the publick *Liturgy*, were built on *Obstinacy* and *Doating*, or on *Love* and *Constancy*.

Fuller.

I concur with the *Animadvertor* in his *Encomiastick* Expressions on the *Common Prayer*. Otherwise, nothing new, occurs in *this*, which was not in the former Paragraph. And therefore, the *Blow* being the same (onely layed on with a little more eagerness) I conceive the same *Guard* will serve to defend it, without any further repetition.

Dr. Heylyn.

But, if it must be *Obstinacy* or *Doating* in the *generality* of the People, to adhere so cordially to the *Book of Common Prayer*, I marvell what it must be called in *Stephen Marshall* of *Essex* (that great *Bell-Weather*, for a time, of the *Presbyterians*) who having had a *Chief hand* in compiling the *Directory*, did notwithstanding *Marry his owne Daughter* by the forme prescribed in the *Common-Prayer-Book*; and having so done, paid down five pounds immediately to the *Church-Wardens* of the *Parish*, as the *Fine* or *Forfeiture* for using any other forme of *Marriage*, then that of the *Directory*. The like to which (I have credibly been informed) was done by Mr. *Knightly* of *Fawsley*, on the like occasion, and probably by many others of the same *Straine* also.

Fuller.

All this is Nothing to me, who am not bound to answer for the Actions of other Men. I know there was in *England* a *Juncture* of Time, which in this point may be compared to the *Evening TWILIGHT*; so called from *TWILIGHT* or *double Light*, the one of the *Day* not wholly gon down, the other of the *Candle*, but newly set up. Such the *Crepusculum vespertinum* in our Land, when the *Day* of the *Liturgy* yet dimly shined, and the *Candle* of the *Directory* was also lighted; a short *Candle*, which presently burnt down to the *Socket*. It is possible that in this *Coincidence*, some in *Majorem Cautelam*, twisted the *Liturgy* and *Directory* together, as since some have joyned to both, *Marriage* by a *Justice of Peace*; that so a *Threefold Cable* might not be broken. Let them, which best can, give an account of their own *Carriage* herein.

Dr. Heylyn.

With the like Favour he beholds the two *Universities*, as he doth the *Liturgy*, and hard it is to say, which he injureth most.

Fuller.

I injure neither of them. But in this passage, the *Animadvertor* onely whets his *Sword*, and I scoure my *Shield*, preparing against his deadly blow, in the next Paragraph.

Dr. Heylyn.

And first beginning with *Oxford*, he let us know that, Fol. 231. *Lately certain Delegates from the University of Oxford, pleaded their priviledges before the Committee of Parliament, that they were onely visitable by the King, and such who should be deputed by him. But their Allegations were not of proof against the Paramount power of Parliament; the rather because a passage in an Article at the rendition of Oxford, was urged against them, wherein they were subjected to such a Visitation.* Our Author here subjects the *University of Oxford* to the power of the *Parliament*, and that not onely in regard of that *Paramount power*, which he at-

cribes unto the Parliament, that is to say, the two Houses of Parliament (for so we are to understand him) above all Estates; but also in regard of an Article concerning the surrendry of Oxford, by which that University was subjected to such Visitations.

*Fuller.*

When I see a Corset shot thorough with a Musket bullet, and the Person wounded that wore it, I may safely say, that Corset is not of proof against the Musket. So when I behold the Pleadings of the Delegates neglected and null'd, I may say that *de Facto* they were not of proof against Parliamentary power. A passage possibly written by me, (such my affection to my Aunt Oxford,) with more griefe then it is read by the Animadversor with anger; but Truth is truth whether it be writ by one Sighing or singing; read by one Smiling or Frowning.

The Reader needs no Interpreter to expound the word Parliament, as taken generally at this time, (Successes having beaten the sense thereof into Mens Heads) for the two Houses. *Loqui cum vulgo* in this case, I hope is no fault; These two Houses at this time maintained their ENTHYMEM to be a complete SYLLOGISM concluding all Persons under them; presuming that the King, though not Personally, was Virtually with them, A position which I have no calling to examine. As for the Clause in the Article which looked the University under Parliamentary Visitation, heare how the Animadversor reports it.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

I find indeed, that it was agreed on by the Commissioners on both sides touching the Surrendry of that City; "That the Chancellor, Masters, and "Scholars of the University of Oxon, and the Governors and Students of Christ-Church of King H. 8. his Foundation, and all other Heads and Governors, "Masters, Fellows, and Scholars of the Colledges, Halls, and Bodies Corporate, and Societies of the same University, and the publick Professors and "Readers, and the Orator thereof, and all other persons belonging to the said "University, or to any Colledges or Halls therein, shall and may, according to "their Statutes, Charters and Customs, enjoy their antient form of govern- "ment, subordinate to the immediate Authority and power of Parliament. But I find not, that any of the Heads or Delegates of that University were present at the making of this Article, or consented to it, or thought themselves oblig'd by any thing contained in it.

*Fuller.*

This last Clause was eagerly urged by the Committee against the Delegates of the University, and I could wish they could as easily have untied the Knot, as Answered the hardest Objection of Bellarmine in the Divinity-Schools; The King when privately departing Oxford left (if not a Commission) at least Leave with the Lords to make as good Learmes for themselves, and all with them in the City besieged, as the Enemy would give and they could get in that streightned condition. The University therefore was urged by the Committee to have given an *Implicite consent* to these Articles, and enjoying the Benefit, they must share in the Burthen thereof. To this, the Delegates made many faire and Civill Answers, strengthened with Law and Reason: but alas, great are the Odds, though Learning be the Answerer, where Power is the Opponent.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

Nor indeed could it stand with reason, that they should wave the patronage of a gracious Sovereign, who had been a Nursing Father to them, and put themselves under the arbitrary power of those who they knew minded nothing but destruction toward them. And that the University did not think it selfe oblig'd by any thing contained in that Article, appears even by our Author himselfe, who tells us in this very passage, that the Delegates from the University pleaded their



their priviledges before the Committee of Parliament, that they were onely visitable by the King, and such as should be deputed by him; which certainly they had never done (unlesse our Author will conclude them to be fools or madmen) had they before submitted to that *Paramount power*, which he adscribes unto the *Houses*. Nor did the Houses of Parliament find themselves impowered by this clause of the Article, to obtrude any such *Visitation* on them. And therefore when the Delegates had pleaded, and prov'd their priviledges, a Commission for a Visitation was issued by the two Houses of Parliament in the name of the King, but under the new broad Seal which themselves had made; which notwithstanding, the University stood still on their own defence, in regard that though the Kings name was us'd in that Commission, yet they knew well, that he had never given his consent unto it. Whereupon followed that great alteration both in the *Heads* and *Members* of most *Colledges* which our Author speaks of.

## Fuller.

The *Animadversor* endeavours to runne me on one of these dangerous *Rocks*, either to condemne the *University* for *Fools* and *Mad men*, whom I *Love* and *Honour* for *Wise* and *Sober Persons*, or else to make me incurre the *Displeasure* of the *Parliament*. And the *Philosopher's Answer* to the *Emperour* is well known, *That it is ill Disputing with them that can command LEGIONS*: The best is, I am not bound to answer to this dangerous *Dilemma*, keeping my selfe close to my *Calling*, viz. *Reporting vwhat vvas done*, but whether *Justly* or *unjustly*, let others decide.

The *Animadversor's Boldnesse* herein is for me to *admire*, not *Imitate*. When an *Old Man* vvas demanded the Cause of his *Confidence*, howv he durst so freely tell a *King* of his *fauks*, he rendred a double Reason of his Boldnesse, *Orbitas et Senectus*. One, that he had *no Children*, and therefore *Careless* to preserve *Posterity*: the other, that he vvas *extreamely Old*, therefore lesse curious to keep that *Life* that vvas leaving him.

How it fareth vwith the *Animadversor* in these two Particulars, I know not; sure I am for my self, that I am not so old to be *Weary* of the *World*, (as I hope it is not of me); and *God* having given me *Children*, I vvill not destroy them, and hazard my selfe by running into needlesse Dangers. And let this suffice for an *Answer*.

## Dr. Heylyn.

Nor deals he much more candidly in relating the proceedings of the *Visitation*, vvwhich vvas made in *Cambridge*; the *Visitors* vvhereof (as acting by the *Paramount power* of *Parliament*) he more sensibly favoureth, than the poor sufferers, or malignant *Members*, as he calls them, of that *University*.

## Fuller.

The *Animadversor* sees more in me then I can see in my selfe; and because vve are both Parties engaged, (the lesse to be credited in our owne Cause,) he it reported to the Reader, if pleased, to peruse the Conclusion of my *History of Cambridge*, whether I cast not my *Graines of Favour* into the Scales of the poor Sufferers. These I call not *MALIGNANT MEMBERS*, but with this *Qualification* (so \*tearmed). And let not me be condemned for the Ill *Language* of others.

\* Hist. of  
Camb. pag.  
168. parag.

I say again, As, as an *Historian*, I have favoured no side but told the *Truth*; so I could not so far unman my selfe, but that for *Humanity sake* (to say no more,) I did pity the *Sufferers*; on which Account, I incurred the displeasure of the *Opposite Party*: the best is, causelesse *Anger* being an *Edglesse Sword*, I feare it the lesse.

## Dr. Heylyn.

For whereas the *Author* of the Book called *Querela Cantabrigiensis* hath told us of an *Oath of Discovery*, obtruded by the *Visitors* upon severall persons, where-  
by

by they were sworn to detect one another, even their dearest friends. Our Author vvho vvvas out of the storm, seeming not *satisfied* in the *truth* of this relation, must vvrite to Mr. *Ash*, who vvvas one of those *Visitors*, to be inform'd in that which he knew before.

*Fuller.*

No Person more proper or probable to inform me herein, than Mr. *Ash* one of the *Visitors*, who I believed did both *know the Truth* and would not tell a *falsehood* herein: I was so far from desiring *Information* in what (as the *Animadversor* saith) I KNEW BEFORE, that I protest I know IT NOT YET, being left in such a *Mist* about this *Oath of Discovery*.

On the one *side*, my Worthy Friend Mr. *Peter Gunning*, Fellow of *Clare Hall*, (eminent for his Learning and Honesty,) hath since assured me that such an *Oath* was offered and urged upon him by the *Committee*. On the other *side*, I am, on just grounds, daily confirmed in my Confidence, that neither the *Earl of Manchester*, nor any under him by his *Command* or *Consent* enforced such an *Oath*, so that where to lay the Blame, I know not; and have neither *List* nor *Leasure*, further to enquire, who having *Blistered* my *Fingers* already, will burn my *Hands* no more in so dangerous a subject.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

Our Author proceeds. And on the reading of Mr. *Ash* his Answer, declares expressly, that *no such Oath was tendred by him to that University.*] But first, Mr. *Ash* doth not absolutely deny, that there was any such *Oath*, but that he was a *stranger* to it: and possibly he might be so far a *stranger* to it, as not to be an *Actor* in that part of the *Tragedy*. Secondly, Mr. *Ash* onely saith, that he cannot call to mind, that any such thing was mov'd by the *Earl of Manchester*; and yet I trow, such a thing might be mov'd by the *Earl of Manchester*, though Mr. *Ash* after so many years was willing not to call it to mind. Or else if no such *Oath* was tendred by him, as our Author is assur'd there was not, that part of the *Tragedy* might be acted by Mr. *Good* the other *Chaplain*, without communicating his Instructions to his fellow *Visitor*.

*Fuller.*

Mr. *Ash*, on serious and Solemn recollection, hath since given me Assurance, both by his word of Mouth, and *Writing*, that no such *Oath* was urged to his knowledge; and being a Minister of the *Gospell*, I am in *Charity* and *Conscience* bound to believe Him.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

And therefore thirdly, I would know why Mr. *Good* was not writ to also, that having from him the like *Certificate*, our Author might have had the better grounds for his *unbelief*, before he had pronounc'd so positively against the Author of that *Querela*.

*Fuller.*

The reason was because Mr. *Good* was dead, and (had I known whither) I did not know by what *Carrier* to convey my Letter unto him. I pronounced not positively against *Querela* in point of the *Oath*, which I left under very vehement *Suspitions*.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

Fourthly, and finally, it is not easie to be thought, that the Author of that Book should have vented such a manifest falsehood, especially in a matter so derogatory to all *Christian* charity, and that neither the *Earl of Manchester*, nor either of these two *Chaplains*, or any friends of theirs, should in the space of ten years



years and more, endeavour to wipe off such an odious imputation, till our Author out of pure zeal to the *Paramount-power*, played the Advocate in it.

**Fuller.**

I will freely give all my *Fees* for my *Advocation* to the *Animadverſor*, and will Thank him too, if he will be pleased to take them from me to himſelfe. It ſeemes I did not my *Worke* well, who had nothing but diſpleaſure for my *Wages*.

Poſſibly the *Earl of Mancheſter* might not know, that the *urging* of ſuch an *Oath* was objected againſt him and his; and probably, if he did know, he ſatiſfied himſelfe in his own *Integrity* and *Innocence*, leaving the *Blame* and *Shame* to fall on ſuch as were guilty thereof.

**Dr. Heylyn.**

But to return again to *Oxford*, one of the firſt effects which followed on the alteration before remembered (though mentioned by our Author in another place) was the riſing of the *Treſury* in *Magdalen Colledge*, of which he tells us, *lib. 9. fol. 234.* That a *conſiderable ſum of Gold*, being by *Dr. Humphry* (who had been Maſter of that Colledge) left in a *Cheſt*, not to be opened, except ſome great neceſſity urged thereunto, was lately ſhar'd between *Dr. Wilkinſon* (who then held the place of Preſident by the power of the Viſitors) and the fellows there. But firſt, Our Author is miſtaken in *Dr. Humphry*, though he be willing to entitle him (whom he calls a *moderate Non-conformiſt*) to ſome benefaction. The ſumme there found amounted to above twelve hundred double Piſtolets, the old Doctor having no fewer than one hundred for his part of the ſpoile, and every fellow thirty a piece for theirs; each Piſtolet exchange'd at ſixteen ſhillings ſix pence, and yet the Exchanger got well by the bargain too. Too great a ſum for *Dr. Humphry*, who had many Children, and no provident Woman to his Wife, to leave behind him to the Colledge, had he been ſo minded. The Money (as the Tradition went in that Colledge) was left there by the Founder, to remedy and repair ſuch ruines, as either the caſualty of fire, or the ravages of a Civil warre might bring upon it; to which the nature of the Coin being all *French pieces* (remember that the *Engliſh* at that time were Maſters of a great part of *France*) gives a further teſtimony.

**Fuller**

As I have been miſtaken in the *Perſon*, *Dr. Humphry* for *Biſhop Wainfleet* Donour of this *Gold* (following common Report therein); ſo I could heartily have wiſhed I had alſo erred in the Thing it ſelf, I mean, that an *Amotion* of ſuch *Devoted Treſure* had never been done.

The *Animadverſor* might well have forbore his *Sparring* at the precious Memory of that learned and pious *Dr. Humphry*. And the new mention of his name, mindeth me of an old fault, which the *Animadverſor* not long ſince laid to my charge, viz. my calling of *Thomas Bentham* [the *DEANE*, ſaith he, of *Magdalen Oxford*,] the *CENSOR* thereof. Whereas I exactly followed the words of *Dr. Humphry*, in his Latin Life of *Jewel*, page. 73. *Tho. Benthamus, quamvis CENSOR, eo Anno, &c.* And I humbly conceive that I having ſo good a Precedent as *Dr. Humphry*, Preſident of that Colledge, I might as well call their *Deane, Cenſor in Engliſh*, as He doth in *Latin*.

**Dr. Heylyn.**

Secondly, I would have our Author obſerve, that thoſe whom he accuſeth of this act of Rapine, were neither *high Royaliſts*, nor *covetous Conformiſts*, as we know who words it; but men agreeable to the times, and of the ſame temper and affections which himſelfe is of: the *Conformiſts* never being ſo covetous as to caſt an eye towards it, nor the *high Royaliſts* ſo ignoble in their greateſt extremities, as to lay hands on it.

Fuller.

If I be one of their *Persuasion*, who shared this *Gold*, (and I must be so because the *Animadverſor* doth ſay it) I have acquitted my ſelf a faithfull *Hiſtorian*, in not conſulting my own *partiſe's* Credit : but unpartially reporting the truth. However I hope God will keep my hands, that my fingers ſhall not have the GUILT of the *Gold* of *Tholonſe*.

Dr. Heylyn.

And thirdly, I muſt needs charge our Author vvith ſome partiality in aggravating this fact (vvhich indeed cannot be excuſed) vvith ſo many circumſtances, and paſſing over the like at *Cambridge*, as a thing incredible ; I cannot lecture, ſaith he, *Hiſt. Camb. fol. 38.* vvhat I have read in the *Querela Cantabrigienſis*, That three or four hundred pounds worth of *Timber* brought to *Clare-hall* for the repair of that  *Houſe*, was lately taken away, that is to ſay, inverted to the uſe of ſome private perſons, vvhom our Author hath befriended vvith this incredulity.

Fuller.

I did not aggravate the fact nor heavily lean on my Pen in relating this Paſſage, nor layed more vveight thereon than meerly to make it caſt like. The *Animadverſor* hath more bitternesse vvrapped up in this one vvord RAPINE than I have ſtretched out, in all my relation of this accident.

Dr. Heylyn.

Nay ſo extreemly favourable he is to his friends in *Cambridge*, as to profeſs, that, had he ſcene it, he would not have beleev'd his own eyes ; vvhich is the higheſt poynt of partiality, and moſt invincible unbelief that Pever met vvith.

Fuller.

Herein the *Animadverſor* is highly-juſt, (to ſay no more) unto me. Is it not cruelty to ſuch as vvrite in diſtracted times, and are, as deſirous to impart dangerous Truths to poſterity, ſo alſo to ſecure themſelves, (as vvho can blame them?) as vvell as they may, to hunt them out of the Covert of any figurative or vvary expreſſion: but none ſo deaf, as He vvho will not hear, I mean as to underſtand, The *Animadverſor* knew my *Expreſſion* painted at, ſome too high for me ſafely to reach.

Knowv Reader, that, vvhat Need (as pleaded) in time of war took from *Clare-hall*, that Conſcience in the ſame perſon hath ſince reſtored to the full, as Dr. *Dillingham* my vvorthy friend and Maſter of the Colledge hath enformed me. Novv though *Oxford* challengeth antiquity to go before *Cambridge*, yet herein let her not diſdain to come after her, and to follow ſo good an Example of Reſtitution : for though I have heard, and partly believe, that Dr. *Wilkinſon* did with might and main oppoſe the Seizure on that *Gold* ; and though they ſay it appeared, vvhen ſeriously examined by the viſitors, that it vvvas not ſo foul a fact, as generally it is repreſented ; yet it cannot in all particulars be excuſed, and therein concur vvith the *Animadverſor*. So that \* *Jacob's* counſel to his Sons may here be ſeaſonably preſcribed, Carry the Money back again, peradventure it was an over-ſight.

\* Gen. 43.  
12.

Dr Heylyn.

There remains nothing now to conclude theſe *Animadverſions*, but ſome paſſages relating to *Archbiſhop Williams* : in which I muſt confeſſe my ſelfe not willing to meddle, but that I think it is as much againſt the Rule of diſtributive Juſtice to give one mantoo much, as to give another man too little. Let us ſee



see therefore what he saith of this Prelate, and how far the saith truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth And first, saith he, &c.

*Fuller.*

The Truth hereof will soon appear by the Sequele. For, if the Animadverſor shall inflame his ſmoking faults, hollow in the Ears of every *Dormant Suſpicion*, to awaken it againſt the memory of this Prelate, yea and hang the weight of his greateſt Guiltieſſe on the wyers of the ſlenderest proote, then notwithstanding this his plauſibility to the contrary premised, He will plainly appear to have a *Pike* (the ſharpeſſe whereof his Death hath not blunted) againſt Him.

When one was to Preach the Funeral Sermon of a moſt vicious, and generally hated Perſon, all wondered what He would ſay in his praiſe, the Preachers friends ſeeking, his foeſhoping, that, for his ſee, he would force his Conſcience to flattery. For one thing (ſaid the Miniſter) *this man is to be ſpoken well o', by all*, and for another thing *He is to be ſpoken ill o', by none*. The firſt is, *because God made Him*; the ſecond, *because He is dead*.

Now ſeeing beſides the premiſes, common to all Chriſtians, yea to all men many worthy works have been done by the *Biſhop*; and eſpecially, ſeeing known *Animosities* were betwixt him and the *Animadverſor* (which with *Ingenuity* is an *uncoſuper-over-commanding* motive to ſilence) the *Animadverſor* had beſter forborn all which followeth in my judgement, and in the judgement of as many learned and Religious men, of all orders and degrees in both *Univerſities*, as ever ſollicited him to write againſt my Church-hiſtory.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

Fol. 227. *He ſueth to the Parliament for favour, and obtained it, whoſe General in a manner he becomes in laying ſiege to the Town and Caſtle of Abercon-way, &c.*] This is the truth, but whether it be the whole truth, or not, I do more then doubt. His ſuing for and obtaining pardon from the Parliament, precedeth in the order of time, his being their General; and therefore it is not to be thought, but that he had done ſome ſpecial ſervice to the Parliament to prepare the way for ſuch a favour. Before his commitment to the Tower about the Biſhops Proteſtation, he was grown as odious to the Commons, as before he had been honoured by them. He had liv'd ſome time with the King at *Oxford*, and is ſaid to have done him good ſervices in *Wales*; and (which is moſt) he had a fair temporall Eſtate, able to yeeld ſome thouſands of pounds for Compoſition in *Gold-Smiths hall*. So that there muſt be ſomewhat in it more then ordinary, which occaſioned that he neither came under Fine nor Ranſome, as the reſt of the Kings party did. But what that was, whether he ſerv'd them with intelligence when he was at *Oxford*, or by inhibiting his Tenants and Neighbours to pay their accuſtomed Taxes to the Kings Forces when he liv'd in *Wales*, I determine not. Certain it is, that before his redintegration with them, he had been in a manner beſieged in his Houſe of *Penryn* by the Lord *Byron*, for the prohibiting of ſending in ſuch provisions as had been required; and that obſerving with what careleſſneſſe the Kings Souldiers did attend that ſervice, he cau'd a ſally to be made out of the Houſe, and ſlew many of them. Upon the merit of which ſervice, and the promiſe of greater, it is no wonder if ſuch Miniſters and Sollicitors of his as were imploy'd in that buſineſſe, compounded for him without fine, though not without money. That which our Author tells us of his being their General, ſeems to have been fore-ſignified ſome five or ſix years before the ſiege of *Con-way* Caſtle. For I remember that about ſuch time as he was priſoner in the Tower with the reſt of the Biſhops, his picture was ſold commonly in black and white, in his Episcopall Roabs, with a ſquare Cap on his head, a Reſt in his hand, a Muſket on his ſhoulder, and a *Bandeir* about his neck. For which fancy  
at

at that time I could learn no reason, though he came up to it at the last,

Fuller.

This is not *Contradictory* but *Additory* to what I have written, an *Additory* only of *Suggestions*, and *Suspections*, no *Probations*; The *Animadverſor's* arrow coming off without a *Pile*, when he ſaith, I DETERMINE NOT. I had thought when this DOCTOR CATHEDRÆ (for *Hiſtoricall Matters*) had ſo ſolemnly ſetled himſelfe in the CHAIR, that we ſhould have heard from him ſome ſolid *Determination*, which belike he *dares not dee*: and in my *Opinion*, it had been more *conſonant* to *Chriſtian charity*, not to have *diſcuſſed* what he *could not decide*; ſeeing matters of this Nature are to be *hunted down*, or elſe it is beſt they be *never ſtarted*. Is this He who ſo lately profeſſed his averſneſſe to meddle with this Arch-biſhop, and is now ſo ready to run out againſt Him on all occasions when he hardly hath *half an Errand*? and rather *would* than *can* produce any certainty in his *Suggestions*?

Dr. Heylyn.

But our Author goes on, *Ibid.* He was very chaste in his Conversation.] And I hope ſo too, notwithstanding the ſcandalous reports of *Weldon* the nameleſſe Author aim'd at (in the following words) in his Pamphlet called the *Court of King James*, and ſome vulgar fables or hear ſayes too much credited by a late Hiſtorian. But I muſt needs ſay, that I am not ſatisfied in the arguments which are brought to prove it. *Wilson* in his unworthy Hiſtory of the reign of King James, makes him to be *Eunuchus ab utero*, an Eunuch from his Mother's womb. The author of the pamphlet called the *Obſervator obſerved*, conceives that *Wilson* went too far in this expreſſion, and rather thinks, that he contracted ſome impotency by falling on a ſtake when he was a Boy, ſol. 10. Our Author here ſeems to incline unto this laſt, aſſuring us from ſuch who knew the *Privacies* and *caſualties* of his infancy, that this Arch-biſhop was but one degree remov'd from a *Miſogyniſt*, though to palliate his infirmity to noble Females he was moſt compleat in his courtly addreſſes. But firſt, the falſity and frivolouſneſſe of theſe defences leave the poor man under a worſe ſuſpicion than they found him in. His manly countenance, together with his maſculine voyce, ſhewed plainly that he was no Eunuch; and the agreeableneſſe of his converſation with the female Sex, did as plainly ſhew, that he was no *Miſogyniſt*, or Woman-hater. And ſecondly, admitting theſe ſurmises to be true and real, they rather ſerve to evidence his impotency than to prove his chaſtity; it being no chaſtity in that man to abſtain from Women, who either by caſualty, or by nature is diſabled from ſuch copulations. The vertue of chaſtity conſiſteth rather in the integrity of the ſoul, than the mutilation of the body; and therefore more to be aſcrib'd to thoſe pious men, *Qui ſalvis oculis ſceminam vident*, in *Tertullian's* language, than to the old Philoſopher, who put out his eyes to avoid temptations of that nature. So that if this be all which they have to ſay for the Biſhop's chaſtity, theſe advocates had ſhewed more wiſdom in ſaying nothing, than ſpeaking ſo little to the purpoſe.

Fuller.

I am ſorry to ſee the Memory of this Biſhop, ſince his deceaſe, to fall on a ſharper Stake than his Body did in his Infancy, even the Pen of the *Animadverſors*. I confeſſe, Chaſtity cannot neceſſarily be concluded from naturall debility, or caſual impotency; there being a poſſibility of a *frying heart* in a *freezing body*. And we know who hath written, \* *ut Eunuchus qui amplectitur virginem & gemit.*

Eccius. 50. 20.

The caſualty of his Infancy was by me mentioned, and caſt in as *ſuper-pondium* or *over-weight*, to confirme ſuch as were perſwaded before, in his Chaſtity which was never called into Queſtion by any perſon of credit. As for *Aulicus & Coquina*, the Courtier out of the Kitchen, pretending himſelfe ſuch a *Maſter of defence*



Defence in all Court-controversies. Such as have perused his Book, will find cause to say of Him, *Expectavi Lanistam; inveni Scurram, Rabulam, Lxxam.*

The conversableness of this Bishop with Women, consisted chiefly, (if not only) in his Treatments of great Ladies and Persons of Honour, wherein he did performate the Compleatness of Courtesie to that Sex: otherwise a woman was seldom to be seen in his House. Hence it was that the Palace of this Prelate, had more Magnificence than Neatnesse therein, sometimes Defective in the Punctillo's and Nicities of Daintinesse, lying lower than Masculine cognizance; and as level to a womans Eye, to espy, as easy for her Hand to amend.

### Dr. Heylyn.

Our author proceeds Ibid. *Envy it selfe cannot deny, but that whither soever he went, he might be traced by the foot-steps of his benefaction.*] Amongst which benefactions it was none of the least, that in both the Universities he had so many Pensioners; more (as it was commonly given out) then all the Noble-men and Bishops in the Land together: some of which received twenty Nobles, some ten pounds, and other twenty Marks *per annum*. And yet it may be said without envy, that none of all these Pensions came out of his own purse, but were laid as Rent-charges upon such Benefices as were in his disposing, either as Lord Keeper or Bishop of *Lincoln*, and assign'd over to such Scholars in each University as applyed themselves to him. And because I would not be thought to say this without book, I have both seen and had in my keeping, till of late, (if I have it not still) an Acquittance made unto a Minister in discharge of the payment of a Pension of twenty Nobles *per annum*, to one who was then a Student in *Christ-Church*. The name of the parties I forbear; he that receiv'd it, and he for whom it was receiv'd, (and perhaps he that paid it too) being still alive. And possible enough it is, that this Pensioning of so many Scholars had not been past over in silence by our Author, if he had not known the whole truth as well as the truth.

### Fuller.

His Pensioning so many Schollers, foundeth more to his credit, than the paucity of their Pensioners to the honour of other Lords and Bishops. It was impossible that so numerous Pensions, could all issue out of his own Purse, without great Impairing of his Estate. And therefore no wonder if he was not the *Giver*, but the bare *disposer* of some of them to *Promising Pregnancies*, where *Worth* and *Want* did meet together in the same person. And though such payments were not costly to the Bishop, they were no lesse comfortable to such as received them; it being all one with the parched ground whether the *Water-pot* which be *sprinkleth* it, be filled from the *Spring*, or from the *River*. This was don by him without any appearance of evill, with the free and full consent of such *Incumbents* as Hee presented, far from the shadow of *Simoniacall* compliance, seeing besides the Statute to this purpose, in the reign of King *Henry the eighth*, the Injunctions of Queen *Elizabeth* do countenance a Bishops assigning five pounds annually out of every hundred pounds of a Benefice to such uses. As for many of the Pensions he paid, I am since as well assured, they were expended out of his own Purse as I am confident the causelesse cavills in our Animadvertor's Book, were bred in his own braines, without any other's Suggesting them unto him.

### Dr. Heylyn.

Ibid. *Much he expended on the Repair of Westminster Abbey-Church, &c. The Library at Westminster was the effect of his bounty.*] This though it be true in part, yet we cannot say of it, that it is either the whole truth, or nothing but the truth. For the plain truth is, that neither the charge of repairing that Church, nor furnishing that Library, came out of his own private Coffers, but the Churches rents: For at such time as he was made Lord Keeper of the great Seal; he caused it to be signified unto the Prebendaries of that Church, how incon-

venient it would be both to him and them to keep up the Commons of the Colledge; and gaind so farre upon them that they paid over to him all the rents of that Church, upon condition that he should pay the annual pensions of the Prebendaries, School-Masters, Quire-men, and inferiour Officers, and maintain the Commons of the Scholars. The rest, amounting to a great yearly value, was left wholly to him upon his honourable word and promise to expend the same for the good and honour of that Church. The surplussage of which expenses receiv'd by him for four years and upwards, amounted unto more than had been laid out by him on the Church and Library; as was offered to be proved before the Lords Commissioners at the visitation, Anno. 1635. And as for the Library at St. Johns, it might possibly cost him more wit than money; many books being daily sent in to him (upon the intimation of his purpose of founding the two Libraries) by such as had either sotts in Court, or businesse in Chancery, or any wayes depended on him, or expected any favours from him, either as Bishop of Lincoln, or Dean of Westminster.

#### Fuller.

As the worne on a sudden smote the beard of *Jonah*, and it withered; so it is possible, that the most verdant and flourishing Charity may be fretted and blasted, by ill reports.

There is a *Chapter-Book* subscribed with the hands of the Prebendaries of Westminster (the Date whereof I do not at present remember) and the Copy of it is in the hands of my Worthy friend, wherein they thankfully acknowledge the great bounty of this Bishop, in expending so much on the repaire of their Church.

If the Library of St. Johns cost him more wit then Money, (as the Animadvertor phraseth it,) sure I am that in the same sense, The founding of Fellowships and Scholler-ships in that Colledge, cost him more Money than wit.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, Fol. 228. *He hated Popery with a perfect hatred.* But Wilson in his *History of great Britain* sings another song, whether in Tune, or out of Tune, they can best tell who liv'd most neere those times, and had opportunities to observe him.

#### Fuller.

I wonder, That the Animadvertor, who in the Preface to this his Book had branded *Wilson's History* with the name of a most Infamous Pasquill, maketh mention of any passage therein to a Bishop's disgrace.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

There is a muttering of some strange offer which he made to King James, at such time as the Prince was in Spain, and the Court seemed in common apprehension to warp towards Popery, which declared no such perfect hatred (as our Author speaks of) unto that Religion.

#### Fuller.

\* Elay. 56. 3.

The \* Prophet telleth us of Tongues which have MUTTERED perversnesse, and such to me seem they that are Authors of this report.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

Nor was he coy of telling such whom he admitted unto privacies vwith him, that in the time of his greatnesse at Court, he vvas accounted for the Head of the Catholick Party, not sparing to declare what free and frequent accessles he gave the principall Sticklers in that cause both Priests and Jesuites, and the speciall services vvhich he did them: And it must be somewhat more than strange if all this be true, that he should hate Popery vwith a perfect hatred; yet not more strange



strange then that he should so stickle in the preferment of Dr. *Theodore Price* to the Arch-Bishoprick of *Armagh* in *Ireland*, who died a profest Catholick, reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, as our Author teach- it, Fol. 226. But if there be no more truth in the Bishop of *Lincoln* hating Popery, then in Dr. *Price*'s dying a professed Papiſt, there is no credit to be given at all to that part of the Character. Dr. *Price*, though once a great Favourite of this Bishop, and by him continued Sub-Dean of *Westminster* many years together, was at the last suppos'd to be better affected to Bishop *Land*, than to Bishop *Williams*; Bishop *Land* having lately appeared a Suitor for him for the Bishoprick of *St. Asaph*. And therefore that two Birds might be kill'd with the same bole; no sooner was Dr. *Price* deceas'd, but the Bishop of *Lincoln* being then at *Westminster*, calls the Prebends together, tells them that he had been with Mr. Sub-Deane before his death, that he left him in very doubtfull reames about Religion, and consequently could not tell in what form to bury him; that if the Dr. had died a profest Papiſt he would have buried him himselfe, but being as it was, he could not see how any of the Prebendaries could either with safety or with credit performe that office. But the Artifice and design being soon discovered, took so little effect that Dr. *Newel* one of the Senior Prebendaries performed the Obsequies, the rest of the whole Chapter attending the body to the grave, with all due solemnity.

#### Fuller.

I deny not but as a States-man, he might do some civill offices to the Romish party in that Juncture of time, in compliance to King *James* his commands, But this amounteth not to prove him a Lover of Popery.

As for Dr. *Price*, I will not rake into his ashes. If he dyed a protestant, 'twas the better for him; but the contrary is generally reported, printed, believed.

#### Dr. Heylyn.

Our Author proceeds, Fol. 228. He was so great an honourer of the English Liturgy, that of his owne cost he caused the same to be translated into Spanish, and fairly printed, to confute their false conceipt of our Church, &c. ] If this be true, it makes not onely to his honour, but also to the honour of the English Liturgy, translated into more Languages then any Liturgy in the world, whatsoever it be; translated into Latine by *Alexander Aleſius*, a learned Scot in King *Edwards* time; as afterward by Dr. *Walter Haddon* in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and his translation mended by Dr. *Mocker* in the time of King *James*: translated into French by the command of that King, for the Isles of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*: into Spanish at the charge of this Bishop (as our Author telleth us): and finally into Greek by one Mr. *Pety*, by whom it was dedicated and presented to the late Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the greatest Patron and Advancer of the English Liturgy. But secondly, I have some reason to doubt, that the Liturgy was not translated at the charges of Bishop *Williams*. That it was done by his procurement I shall easily grant: but whosoever made the Bill of Charges, the Church paid the reckoning; the Dominican Fryer who translated it, being rewarded with a Benefice and a good Prebend, as the Bishop himselfe did signifie by letter to the Duke of *Buckingham*.

#### Fuller.

I have been credibly informed by those who have best cause to know it, That it was done not onely by his procurement but at his Cost, Though I deny not but that a benefice might be conferred on the Fryer in reward of his paines. Thus far I am assured by such as saw it, That the Bishop (who had more skill in the Spanish then his policy would publickely own), did with his owne hand correct every sheet therein.

Dr.

## Dr. Heylyn.

And as for the printing of the book, I cannot think that it was at his charges neither, but at the charges of the Printer; it not being usuall to give the Printer, money and the copy too.

## Fuller.

The Animadverto so well practised in printing knowes full well, That though it be usuall to give *Money and Copies* too for a saleable book, which being Printed in our owne tongue is every mans Money; yet a *Spanish Book* printed in *England* is chargeable, meeting with few buyers, because few understanders thereof.

## Dr. Heylyn.

And Thirdly, Taking it for granted, that the Liturgy was translated and printed at this Bishop's charges; yet does not this prove him to be so great an honourer of it as our Author makes him. For had he been indeed a true honourer of the English Liturgy, he would have been a more diligent attendant on it than he shewed himself: never repairing to the Church at *Westminster* (where of he was Dean) from the 18. of *February* 1635. when the businesse of the great Pew was judged against him, till his Commitment to the Tower in *July* 1637.

## Fuller.

One reason why he seildome came to Prayers to *Westminster Church*, was, because he was permitted but little to live there; after he fell into the King's displeasure, being often sent away the day after he came thither. On the same token, that once *Sr. John Cook* being sent unto him to command him to avoid the Deanery; *Mr. Secretary*, said the Bishop, *what Authority have you to command a Man out of his owne House?* Which wrought so much on the old Knight, that he was not quiet till he had gotten his owne pardon.

## Dr. Heylyn.

Nor ever going to the Chappell of the *Tower* (where he was a Prisoner) to attend the Divine Service of the Church, or receive the Sacrament, from *July* 1637. when he was committed, to *November* 1640. when he was enlarged. A very strong Argument that he was no such Honourer of the *English Liturgy*, as is here pretended: A Liturgy most highly esteemed in all places wheresoever it came, and never so much vilified, despis'd, condemn'd as amongst our selves; and those amongst our selves who did so vilifie and despise it, by none more countenanced then by him, who is here said to be so great an Honourer of it.

## Fuller.

Though (for reasons best known to himselfe) he went not to Prayers in the *Tower Chappell*, yet was he his own Chaplain to read them in his own Chamber. And let me add this memorable passage thereunto.

During his durance in the *Tower*, there was a Kinsman of *Sr. William Balfors*, then Lieutenant, a Scotch man (and his name, *Mr. Melvin* too) who being mortally sick, sent for Bishop *Williams* to pray with him. The Bishop read to him the *Visitation of the sick*, having fore-acquainted this dying man, That there was a form of Absolution in this Prayer, if he thought fit to receive it: Wherewith *Mr. Melvin* was not onely well satisfied, but got himselfe up as well as he could on his knees in the bed, and in that posture received Absolution.

## Dr. Heylyn.

But for this Blow our Author hath his Buckler ready, telling us, *Ibid.* Not out of Sympathy to Non-conformists, but Antipathy to Arch-bishop *Laud*, he was favourable



favourable to some select Persons of that Opinion. An Action somewhat like to that of the Earl of Kildare, who being accused before Henry the Eighth, for burning the Cathedrall Church of *Cassiles* in Ireland, profess'd ingeniously, That he would never have burnt the Church, if some body had not told him that the Bishop was in it. Hate to that Bishop, an Arch-Bishop of Ireland, incited that mad Earl to burn his Cathedrall Church. And hate to Bishop *Land*, the Primate and Metropolitan of all England, stir'd up this Bishop to raise a more unquenchable Combustion in the Church of England. So that we may affirm of him as *Tertullian* (in another case) of the Primitive Christians, viz. *Tanti non est bonum, quanti est odium Christianorum*. But are we sure that he was favourable to the Non-Conformists out of an antipathy to Bishop *Land* onely? I believe not so. His antipathy to the King did as strongly byass him that way, as any thing else. For which I have the Testimony of the Author of the History of King *Charles*, published 1656. who telleth us of him, That being malevolently inclin'd (about the lusse of the great Seal), &c.

*Fuller.*

I will not advocate for all the actions of Bishop *Williams*, and though the *Animadvertor* beholds my pen as over-partiall unto him, yet I know who it was that wrote unto me, *Semper es iniquior in Archiepiscopum Eboracensem*.

I am a true honourer of his many excellent virtues, and no excuser of his Faults, who could heartily wish, That the latter part of his Life had been like the beginning thereof.

*Dr. Heylyn.*

And so I take my leave of this great *Prelate*, whom I both reverence for his Place, and honour for his Parts, as much as any. And yet I cannot choose but say, that I find more reason to condemn, then there is to commend him; so that we may affirm of him as the Historian doth of *Cajus Caesar*, Son of *Agrippa*, and Nephew to the great *Augustus*, viz. *Tam variè se gessit, ut nec laudaturum magna, nec vituperaturum mediocris materia deficiat*, as my Author hath it. And with the same Character, accommodated to our Author, and this present History, I conclude these Notes; subjoyning onely this old Saying as well for my comfort as defence, viz.

*Truth, though it may be blam'd, can never be sham'd.*

*Fuller.*

Here the *Animadvertor* doth Tickle and Pinch me both together, yet neither will I laugh nor cry, but keep my former composure.

I will take no notice of a piece of *MEZENRISM* in his joyning of the Dead and Living together, and conceive my selfe far unworthy, to be parallel'd in the least degree with his Eminences.

However I will endeavour with the Gladiators *καλῶς πίπτω*, *hon-stè decumbere*, that when I can fight no longer, I may fall handsomely, in the Scene of this Life.

May God, who gave it, have the glory of what is good in me, my selfe the shame of what is bad, which I ought to labour to amend.

To the Reverend, and his Worthy Friend,

Dr. John Cosin, Dean of Peter-burgh.

SIR, You may be pleased to remember that some two years since being informed by our friend Mr. Davenport, that you took some exceptions at what I had written concerning you, in my Church-History, I returned you an Answer to this Effect.

"That I would make you just reparation, either in the next Edition of  
"my History, or in another Book which I was about to set forth Of  
"the Worthies of England: choosing therein the most proper  
"and conspicuous place, which might render it most visible to the  
"Reader.

This last Book had since been printed, had not the unhappy difference between Dr. Heylyn, and me, retarded it.

What I wrote concerning your Accusation in the House of Commons, I transcribed out of the Manuscript journalls of that House. As for your purgation in the House of Lords, I knew not thereof: which maketh such my omission the more excusable.

I am now right glad, that you did so clearly vindicate your innocence. In my next Edition, I will do you all possible right (with improvement) that my Pen can perform: as also, God Willing, when I come to treat, in my intended Book, of the Cathedral of Durham.

In the mean time, joyning with Hundreds more of my Profession, in thanks to you for your worthy Work on the Apocrypha, and desiring the Continuation and increase of Gods blessing on your studies, who do abide the Champion for our Religion in forraign parts, know that amongst your many honourers, you have none more affectionate than

Your humble Servant,

Thomas Fuller.

To



!

**To the Religious, Learned, and Ingenious Reader.**

**E**PISTLES to the Reader by way of Preparation are properly placed in the front of a Book; but those by way of Recollection follow best in the Reare thereof. If you have had the Leisure and Patience to peruse this Book, you deserve the Name of a Reader indeed; and I do as heartily wish, as charitably hope Thee Qualified with those three Epithets wherewith I have intituled thee. I must now accost thee, in the Language of the Levite to the Tribes of Israell.

**CONSULT, CONSIDER, and GIVE SENTENCE.**

Deal truly and unpartially betwixt me and the Animadvertor, please thine owne Conscience, though thou displeasest us, and ad- judge in thy selfe, where neither of Us, where both of Us, where one of Us, which one of Us, is in the right. Onely this I will add, for my Comfort, and thy better Confidence in reading my Book, that, according to the received Rule in Law, *Exceptio firmat Regulam in non-Exceptis*, it followeth proportionably, that, *Animadversio firmat Regulam in non-Animadversis*. And if so, by the Tacite Con- sent of my Adversary himselte, all other passages in my Book, are allowed Sound and True, save these few, which fall under his re- proof; and how justly, I submit my Cause to thy Censure, and thy Person to Gods keeping, remaining

**Thine in Jesus Christ.**

**Cranford Moate-House.**

**Thomas Fuller.**

To

## To my Loving Friend, Doctor Peter Heylyn.

I Hope, Sir, that we are not mutually Un-friended by this Difference which hath hap-  
pened betwixt us. And now, as Duellers, when they are Both out of breath, may  
stand still and Parley, before they have a Second passe, let us in cold Blood exchange a  
Word, and, mean time, let us depose, at least suspend, our Animositities.

Death hath crept into both our Clay-Cottages through the Windows; your Eyes  
being Bad, mine not Good, God mend them both. And Sanctifie unto us these Moni-  
tors of Mortality, and however it fareth with our Corporeall sight, send our Souls  
that Collyrium, and Heavenly Eye-salve, mentioned in Scripture. But indeed Sir, I  
conceive our Time, Pains, and Parts, may be better expended to Gods Glory, and the  
Churches Good, than in these needlesse Contentions. Why should Peter fall out with  
Thomas, both being Disciples to the same Lord and Master. I assure you, Sir, (what-  
ever you conceive to the contrary) I am Cordiall to the cause of the English Church,  
and my Hoary Haires will go down to the Grave in sorrow for her Sufferings.

<sup>54.</sup> You well remember the passage in \* Homer, how wise Nestor bemoaned the unhap-  
py difference betwixt Agamemnon and Achilles.

ὦ πότμοι, ἦ μέγα πένθος Ἀχαιῶν ἰδμεν,  
ἢ νυν γένεσθαι Πελοπιδῶν, Πρωτοκλυομένοισι παῖσιν,  
Ἄλλοι τε Τρῶες μέγα κεν κτελέσσοιτο θυμῷ  
Ἐσθλῶν τόδ' ἑ παῖτα πύδοιτο μακρομήνοισιν.

O gods / how great the grief of Greece the while,  
And Priams selfe, and Sons do sweetly smile,  
Yea all the Trojan party swell with Laughter,  
That Greeks with Greeks fall out, and fight to Slaughter.

Let me therefore tender unto you an Expedient in Tendency to our mutuall Agree-  
ment. You know full well Sir, how in Heraldry, two Lioncells Rampant endorsed,  
are said to be the Embleme of two Valiant Men, keeping appointment and meeting  
in the Field, but, either forbidden fight by their Prince, or departing on Terms of  
Equality agreed betwixt themselves. Whereupon turning Back to Back, neither  
Conquerors nor Conquered, they depart the Field severall wayes, (their Stout Sto-  
macks not suffering them both to go the same way) lest it be accounted an Injury, one to  
precede the other.

In like manner, I know you disdain to allow me your Equall in this Controversie  
betwixt us, and I will not allow you my Superiour. To prevent future Trouble, let it  
be a Drawn Battle, and let both of us abound in our owne sense, severally per-  
suaded in the Truth of what we have written. Thus, parting and going out Back to  
Back here; (to cut off all Contest about Precedency), I hope we shall meet in Heaven,  
Face to Face, hereafter. In Order whereunto, God willing, I will give you a meeting,  
when, and where, you shall be pleased to appoint, that we, who have Tilted Pens, may  
shake Hands together.

St. Paul writing to Philemon concerning Onesimus, saith, For perhaps he  
therefore departed for a season, that thou mightest receive him for ever. To  
avoid exceptions, you shall be the good Philemon, I the fugitive Onesimus. Who knoweth  
but that God in his providence permitted, yea ordered this difference to happen betwixt  
us, not onely to occasion a reconciliation, but to consolidate a mutuall friendship betwixt  
us, during our Lives; and that the survivor (in Gods pleasure onely to appoint) may  
make favourable and respectfull mention of him, who goeth first to his grave. The desire of  
him who remains.

S I R,

A Lover of your Parts, and an  
Honourer of your Person.

FINIS.

THO. FULLER.





## To Dr. Cornelius Burges.

SIR, I could have wished, that in your book entituled, *a Case concerning the buying of Bishops Lands, with the lawfullnesse thereof, &c.* you had forborn this following expression against me.

Part. 1. pag. 7.

*"As that flashy jeering Author of the late published History of the Church (upon hear-say only, and out of Resolution calumniari torriter) hath falsely reported him.*

Let us go back to the occasion of these words. When Dr. Hacket, May the 11<sup>th</sup>. 1641. made a Speech, in behalfe of the Deans, and Chapters of England, for the preventing of the alienation of their Lands and revenues, you returned an Answer thereunto; and about the conclusive Result thereof, is our present contest.

Dr. Burges.

You say, you onely concluded those things unalienable from the Church, which were settled upon it by Divine Right.

Fuller.

I Report, you concluded Deans and Chapters lands alienable without sin of Sacriledge, from that particular Use; yet so as that they ought still to be preserved to the Church in generall.

I confesse, I neither was, (nor might be) present in the Parliament: and therefore must take it on *Hear-say*. However I distinguish on *hear-say* which is double,

Hear-say { Common.  
Credible.

I conceive mine to be of the latter and better sort. And I have no other way to defend my selfe, than by appealing to many members of the House then present, still alive, and firmly remembering that transaction.

Surely, Sir, the Parliament never brought into question, *whether things might be alienated from the Church, which by Divine Right were settled thereon.* It was inconsistent with their prudence, amounting in effect to this question, *whether Gods, or their power were the highest.* And, Sir, if you concluded no more than what you say, you concluded what was never controverted by any Christian.

Whereas you call me a *FLASHY WRITER*, God forbid that in all my Books such a *flash* of folly and *falsehood* should be found, as falls from your Pen in your own praise.

Part. 1. pag. 32. lin. 30, 31.

*"Albeit Dr. Burges performeth more service in that Church, than any Bishop that ever sat there.*

I read, *Act. 10. 2.* of a Cornelius praised by God for his Prayers and Alms: but you are the first of the name, which, publicly in print, commendeth himselfe.

And as for the Bishops of that See; Have you forgotten *William Barlow*, who in the Marian dayes, *exul in Germania inopem vitam, ut potuit, toleravit*, Preaching  
Yyy ing

Goodwin, in  
Episc. Bath.  
& Well.

ing a practicaill Sermon of patience and contentednesse to all posterity, whilst another usurped his habitation? What shall I speak of *Still, Montague, &c.* What proportion, I pray, doth a *petty brook* bear to a large LAKE?

If I be a *jaulby writer*, you should have been to carefull as not to have brought *juell* in your Book, which I too soon may burn to ashes.

Part. I. pag. 20.

"And that this was the high-way, wherein the Popish Clergy of England long before, (as well as since) the Conquest, constantly travelled; take one Testimony more of that famous Gildas the Elder, surnamed Sapiens: who being a Brittain Presbyter, within the sixth Century, or hundred of years, after Christ, thus chargeth the Popish Clergy of his time, who had sucked their Principles from Augustine the Monk, sent from Rome on purpose to advance the State and Pompe of the Clergy, under Colour of planting the Christian faith in England. For thus he saith, Britannia habet sacerdotes, &c. Brittain (saith he) hath Priests, but some of them very doltis: very many Ministers, but many of them impudent ones: Clergy men, but very \* Thieves or Cheaters: Pastors, as they are termed, but in truth wolvues, standing to slay and slay the souls of the sheep: for that they seek not the good of the people, but the cramming of their own bellies. They have Church houses, but they never repaire to them, unlesse for their own filthy lucre.

\* The Latin word being Rapiores, might (by the Doctors favour) be better Englished Plunderers.

But know, Sir, that herein you are much mistaken in your Chronology, for

<p>Gildas died, saith Arch-bishop, <i>Usher</i> in his <i>Index-Chronolog.</i> pag. 1144. in the year of our Lord, 570.</p>	<p><i>Augustine</i> the Monk came not over into England untill the year 596. as is notoriously known to all that open a Book,</p>
---	---

I am therefore confident that *Gildas* his complaint related onely to his Country-men, the Brittish Clergy without the least reflection on the Saxon, which as yet were unconverted pagans. And therefore to say, they had sucked in principles from *Augustine* the Monk, is an Anti-Chronism, which cannot be justified.

Respect, Sir, to your age, degree, and profession, charms my Pen into some reverence unto you; and because, I hear, abler Men are undertaking your Confutation, I add no more, but remain,

Your Loving Friend

*Thomas Fuller.*

FINIS.





199.2.

d







A N

# I N D E X

OF THE MOST

## REMARKABLE PERSONS

and Passages in this B o o k.

T O T H E R E A D E R.

**A**lthough a Methodicall Book be an Index to it self: yet an Index is not to be contemned by the most Industrious Reader: Whom we request to take notice of the following Particulars.

I. C. stands for Century. B. for Book. P. for Page. ¶ for Paragraph.

II. In the two first Books, memorables are ranked onely according to Centuries and Paragraphs, but afterwards by Books.

III. Paragraph without page doth for brevity sake referre to that page which was last named.

IV. Page without Book, on the same reason, relates to the last Book that was named.

V. VWhere no Parágraph is named, it sheweth that the page by it self is sufficient notification.

Lastly, know that the discounting of Sheets (to expedite the work at severall Presses) hath occasioned in the Fifth book after page 200. compleated, to go back again to page (153). surrounded in this fashion, to prevent confusion.



ARON, a Citizen of Caerlions, martyred. Cent. 4. ¶ 10.

ABBEYS, The prodigious expence in building and endowing them, Cent. 10.

¶ 40. multitudes of them causeth the Danish invasion, ¶ 51. mischiefs done by them, b. 2. p. 282, 283,

284. prime Officers and Officines, p. 285, 286,

287. the evil benefits by them, p. 296, 297,

298. presage of their ruin, p. 300. and offers to overthrow them, p. 301, 302. the lesser (which could not expend 200. pounds a year) bestowed on

the King, p. 310, 311. and the rest visited with three sorts of Officers, p. 314, 315. some appear

vertuous, p. 316. others notoriously vicious, p. 317.

all resigned by their Abbots (unwillingly willing) to the King, p. 319, &c.

Rob. ABBOT, Bishop of Salisbury, his death and commendation, B. 10. P. 70. ¶ 53.

George ABBOT, Arch-bishop of Cant. B. 10. p. 57. ¶ 47. casually killeth a keeper, p. 87. ¶ 12, &c.

befriended by Sir Edward Coke, ¶ 15. and Bishop Andrews, ¶ 16. mortified by this chance, ¶ 17.

seven years after severely suspended from his jurisdiction, b. 11. ¶ 51. his character, ¶ 53. and vindication, ¶ 54. 55.

Tho. ADAMS, Alderman of London, foundeth an Arabick Professours place in Cambridge. H. st. of Cam. p. 166. ¶ 23.

ADELME, the first Bishop of Sherborn, Cent. 8. ¶ 4. and the first Englishman who wrote in Latin,

or made a verse, ibid.

ÆTHEL-

# I N D E X.

- ÆTHELARD**, Arch-bishop of Cant. calleth a Synod, Cent. 9. ¶ 2. with the solemn subscriptions thereunto. *ibidem*.
- AGRICOLA**, a principall spreader of Pelagianisme in Britain, Cent. 5. ¶ 3.
- AIDAN**, Bishop of Lindisfern his due Commendation, Cent. 7. ¶ 70. dissenteth from the Romish Church in the Celebration of Easter, ¶ 71. inciteth Lay-men to the Reading of Scripture. ¶ 72.
- St. ALBAN**, though a Britan, how a Citizen of Rome, Cent. 4. ¶ 2. converted to Christianity by Amphibalus, ¶ 3. his Martyrdom and reported Miracles, ¶ 4. 5. his intire body pretended in three places. Cent. 5. ¶ 11. Enshrined some hundred years after by King Offa, Cent. 8. ¶ 35.
- St. ALBANS** Abbey founded by King Offa, Cent. 8. ¶ 38. the Abb at thereof confirmed first in place of all England, by Pope Adrian the fourth, b. 3. p. 29. ¶ 49.
- ALL-SOULS** Colledge in Oxford founded by Hen. Chicheley Arch-bishop of Cant. b. 4. p. 182.
- ARROW**, a small city in Switzerland, where a Congregation of English Exiles in the Reign of Q. Mary, b. 8. p. 26. ¶ 41.
- ALCUINUS**, or Albinus, an eminent Scholar and opposer of Image-worship, Cent. 8. ¶ 40.
- ALFRED** the Saxon Monarch his admirable act, Cent. 9. ¶ 25. &c. foundeth an University at Oxford, ¶ 29. &c. a solemn Councill kept by him, ¶ 42. with the Canons made therein. *ibidem*. his death, ¶ 44.
- ALIEN** Priors, b. 6. p. 33. ¶ 1. 2. of two natures, ¶ 3. shaken by other Kings, ¶ 4. but dissolved by King Henry 5. ¶ 5.
- William ALLEN** Cardinal his death and character, b. 9. p. 229. ¶ 12.
- William AMESE** his bitter Sermon against Cards and Dice, Hist. of Cam. p. 159. ¶ 41. 42. leaveth Christs Colledge for his non-Conformity, ¶ 43.
- AMPHIBALUS**, so named first by I. Munmoth, Cent. 4. ¶ 6. Martyred at Redbourn in Hartfortshire, ¶ 7. The fancies about his stake confuted, *ibidem*.
- ANABAPTISTS** their beginning in England, b. 5. p. 249. ¶ 11. discovered in London, b. 9. p. 104. ¶ 12. eleven condemned, and two burnt ¶ 13.
- Lancelot ANDREWS** his death and character b. 11. ¶ 46, 47, 48, 49.
- ANNA** King of the East-Saxons happy in his children, Cent. 7. ¶ 82.
- Q. ANNE** (Wife to King James) her signal letter to the Town of Rippon, b. 10. ¶ 15.
- ANSELME** Arch-bishop of Cant. b. 3. p. 11. ¶ 30. refuseth to lend King Rufus a 1000. pounds, ¶ 32. Variance betwixt him and King Rufus, p. 12. ¶ 36. &c. holdeth a Synod at Westminster, p. 16. ¶ 3. the constitutions thereof, p. 16, 17, 18, 19. sent to Rome, p. 20. ¶ 5. forbids Priests marriage, ¶ 7. but dyeth re infecta, p. 23. ¶ 18.
- Io. ARGENTINE** challengeth all Cambridge to dispute with him. Hist. of Cam. p. 64. ¶ 28. &c.
- ARIMINUM** British Bishops present at the Councell kept therein, Cent. 4. ¶ 20. And why they refused to receive a Salary from the Emperour, *ibidem*.
- ARLES** British Bishops present at the Councell kept therein, Cent. 4. ¶ 20.
- ARISTOBULUS** fabulously made by Grecian writers a Bishop of Britain, Cent. 1. ¶ 8.
- ARMES**, in noble Families still extant, relating to the Achievements of their Ancestours in the holy Land, b. 3. p. 40, 41, 42, 43.
- ARRIANISME** infected England, as appears by Gildas his complaint, Cent. 4. ¶ 21.
- King ARTHUR** a real worthy of Britain, though his actions be much discredited with Monkish fictions, Cent. 6. ¶ 2.
- The SIX ARTICLES**, contrived by Bishop Gardiner, b. 5. p. 203. ¶ 17. to the great trouble of poore Protestants. ¶ 18.
- The 39. ARTICLES** composed, b. 9. p. 72. ¶ 51. why drawn up in generall terms, ¶ 52. by those who had been Confessours, ¶ 53. confirmed by Statute, ¶ 55. imposed onely on the Clergy, ¶ 56.
- The 20<sup>th</sup> ARTICLE** (concerning the Authority of the Church) questioned, b. 9. p. 73. inserted in some, omitted in other Editions, p. 74. ¶ 85. defended by Bishop Laud against Mr. Burton, ¶ 59.
- ARTICLES** of Lambeth: see Lambeth.
- Thomas ARUNDEL**, when Arch-bishop of York a cruel persecutour, b. 4. p. 151. ¶ 42. when Arch-bishop of Cant. active in deposing King Rich. the second, p. 153. ¶ 54. visiteth the University of Cambridge and all the Colledges therein, Hist. of Cam. p. 59, 60, &c. Affronted at Oxford, b. 4. p. 164. ¶ 125. but by the Kings help too hard for the Students, p. 165. ¶ his wofull death p. 166. ¶ 30.
- St. ASAPH** his pious Expression, Cent. 6. ¶ 13.
- John ASCHWELL** challengeth all Camb. Hist. of Camb. p. 104. ¶ 44. his bad success, ¶ 45. &c.
- Anne ASCOUGH**, b. 5. p. 242. ¶ 44. Plea for leaving her Husband, ¶ 45. first wracked, then burnt, 46. her profe, and poetry, 47.
- Mr. ASHLEY** his difference at Frankford with Mr. Home, book 8. p. 32, 33. ¶ 11. The sad consequences occasioned thereby, ¶ 12, 13.
- ASSEMBLEY** of Divines their first meeting, b. 11. ¶ 1. consisteth of four English quarters, p. 198. ¶ 2. besides the Scottish Commissioners, p. 199. ¶ 3. the reasons of the Royalists why they would not joyne with them, b. 11. p. 199. ¶ 5. first petition for a fast, p. 200. ¶ 8. troubled with Mr. Selden, b. 11. p. 213. ¶ 54. and with the Erastians, ¶ 55. &c. shrewdly checks for exceeding their bounds, p. 214. ¶ 58. their Monuments, p. 215. ¶ 66. rather sinketh then endeth, ¶ 67.
- King ATHELSTAN** his principle Laws enacted at Greatlea, Cent. 9. ¶ 10.
- ATHELWOLPHUS** Monarch of the Saxons maketh [equivalently] a Parliament act for the paying of Tithes, Cent. 9. ¶ 8. Objections against the validity thereof answered, ¶ 9, 10. et sequentibus. Granteth Peter-Pence to the Pope, ¶ 15.
- St. AUDRE** her chastity, Cent. 7. ¶ 108. twice a Wife, still a Maid, ¶ 109. &c. her miraculous monument confuted, ¶ 111. &c.
- St. AUGUSTINE**, the worthy Father Bishop of Hippo said to be born on the same day with Pelagius the Heretick, Cent. 5. ¶ 2.
- AURELIUS AMBROSIUS** erecteth a monument in Memory of his Conquest over the Britans, Cent. 5. ¶ 25. Causelessly slandered by an Italian writer, ¶ 28.
- AUGUSTINE** the MONK sent by P. Gregory to Convert England, b. 2. Cent. 6. ¶ 2. by him (shrinking for fear) is encouraged, ¶ 3. mocked by women in his passage, ¶ 4. Landeth in England, ¶ 5. why chusing rather to be Arch-bishop of Cant. then London, C. 7. ¶ 1. summons a Synod under his AKE, ¶ 2. his proud carriage therein towards the British Clergy, ¶ 3. &c. his prophesy ¶ 8. arraigned as guilty of murdering the Monks of Bangor, ¶ 10. &c. acquitted by the moderation of



# I N D E X.

- of Mr. Fox, ¶. 14. baptiseth ten thousand in one day, ¶. 19. his ridiculous miracle, ¶. 22. death and Epitaph, ¶. 24. without the date of the year, ¶. 25. a farewell to him with his character, ¶. 26.
- AUGUSTINEAN Monks**, b. 6. p. 268. ¶. 67. Colchester their chief seat, *ibidem*.
- AUGMENTATION** court: the erection, use, cause, names, & abolishing thereof, b. 6. p. 348, 349.
- AUGUSTINEAN Friars**, b. 6. p. 273. ¶. 1. The same in Oxford turned into Wadham Coll. b. 10. p. 68. ¶. 30. learned writers of their Order bred in Cambridge, *Hist. of Camb.* p. 30.
- B.**
- Gervase **BABINGTON**, Bishop of Worcester, his death and praise, b. 10. p. 56. ¶. 32, 33.
- Roger **BACON**, a great School-man and Mathematician, falsely accused for a Conjuror, C. 14. p. 96. ¶. 17. many of that name confounded into one, ¶. 18.
- John **BACONTHORP**, a little man and great Scholar, p. 97. ¶. 20.
- BAILIOL COLL.** founded by J. Bailiol, b. 3. p. 67. and 68.
- Philip **BAKER**, Provost of Kings, an honest Pastor, *Hist. of Cam.* p. 142. ¶. 4.
- John **BALD**, Bishop of Orlory, his death, character, and excusable passion, b. 9. p. 67. ¶. 37, 38, 39.
- Bishop **BANCROFT**, causlessly condemned for keeping Popish Priests in his house, b. 10. ¶. 1. his behaviour in Hampton-Court Conference, p. 9. et sequentibus. violently prosecuted Mr. Fuller unto his death in Prison, p. 55, 56. ¶. 29, 30. his death, 34. vindicated from cruelty, covetousness and Popish inclinations, 44, 45, 46. his crossing a Court project, 47.
- BANGOR**: the Monks therein massacred, b. 2. ¶. 9.
- Peter **BARO** why leaving his Professours place, *Hist. of Cam.* p. 125. ¶. 21. different judgements about his departure, ¶. 22.
- William **BARRET** Fellow of Cajus Coll. his solemn recantation, *Hist. of Cam.* p. 150.
- BARDS**, their powerfull practices on the Pagan Britans, Cent. 1. ¶. 4.
- BARNWELL** nigh Cambridge, the Original of Midsummer fair therein, *Hist. of Cam.* p. 3. ¶. 9. a Priory therein founded by Paine Peverell, p. 7. ¶. 16.
- BASIL** Conncill: English Ambassadors sent thither b. 4. p. 178. observations on their Commission, p. 179, 180.
- John **BASTWICK** his accusation, b. 11. p. 151. ¶. 58. his plea, 152. ¶. 64. his speech on the Pillory, p. 155. ¶. 71.
- BATTEL ABBEY** founded by King Will. the Conquerour, b. 3. ¶. 1. the large Priviledges thereof, *ibidem*, and ¶. 15.
- Thomas **BECKET**, b. 3. p. 32. ¶. 57. Arch-bishop of Canterb. 58. stubborn in defending the Clergy, 59. &c. slain by 4 Knights in his own Church, ¶. 66 67. the great superstition at his shrine, p. 36. ¶. 70.
- Robt. **BEALE** Clerk of the Council, zealous against Bishops, b. 9. p. 47. Arch-bishop Whitgift complains of his insolent carriage, *ibidem*.
- BEDE**, though sent for, went not to Rome, C. 8. ¶. 15. yet probably went out of his Cell, ¶. 16. why sur-named **VENERABLE**, ¶. 17. the last blaze & going out of the Candle of his life, ¶. 18.
- BENNET COLL.** in Cambridge the foundation thereof, *Hist. of Cam.* p. 43, 44. &c. Archb. Parker a paramount benefactor thereunto, p. 46. ¶. 11.
- BENEDICTINE Monks**, b. 6. p. 266. ¶. 2. most ancient of all orders in England, p. 267, 268.
- BERKLEY** Nuns all with child at once, C. 11. ¶. 19. and b. 6. p. 301. ¶. 2.
- BERKLEYS** their Armes relating to their service in the Holy Land, b. 11. p. 43. ¶. 23. their great Benefaction to Abbeyes, *Hist. of Abb.* p. 326. sers by their dissolution, 327.
- Tho. L. **BERKLEY** Patron to John de Trevisa, b. 4. p. 151. ¶. 43. at whose command he translated the Bible into English, ¶. 44.
- BERTHA** the Christian Wife of King Ethelbert [as yet] a Pagan, a great Promotresse of Religion, b. 2. C. 6. ¶. 9.
- St. John of **BEVERLEY** his Miracles, C. 8. ¶. 11.
- Theodorus **BEZA** his letter to Mr. Travers to crave contribution for the City of Geneva, b. 9. p. 136, 137. why coldly resented, *ibid.*
- BIBLE**, three severall Translations thereof, b. 7. p. 387. a fourth and best by the appointment of King James, b. 10. p. 45, &c. *Vide Translatours.*
- BIRINUS** converts the West-Saxons, C. 7. ¶. 65. breaketh his promise yet keepeth it, ¶. 66. made Bishop of Dorchester, ¶. 67.
- BISHOPS** their jurisdiction first severed from the Sheriffs, b. 3. p. 5. ¶. 10.
- BISHOP** in the late long Parliament being charged with a Premunire for making the late Canons, b. 11. p. 183. ¶. 6. legally defend themselves, ¶. 7. acquit themselves from Peculencie of Extraction wherewith a Lord aspersed them, ¶. 8, 9. symptoms of their dying power in Parliament, p. 184. ¶. 10. being petitioned against, p. 185. ¶. 12. and assaulted, ¶. 13. twelve of them subscribe and present a protest, p. 186. ¶. 16. for which they are imprisoned, p. 188. ¶. 18. enlarged on bayle, p. 196. ¶. 34.
- BISHOPRICKS** when and why removed from small Towns to great Cities, b. 3. ¶. 21. Five (on the destruction of Abbies) erected by King Henry the eighth, b. 6. p. 338. ¶. 3.
- BLACKFRIERS**, the dolefull downfall or fatal Vespers thereof, b. 10. p. 102. ¶. 29, 30, &c.
- ¶. Anna **BOLLEN** hath amatorious Letters written unto her from King Henry the eighth, b. 5. p. (175) ¶. 49. preserved (as some say) in the Vatican, *ibidem*. her character, p. 206. ¶. 20. solemnly divorced from King Henry the eighth, p. 207. ¶. 2.
- Robert **BOLTON** an eminent Divine his death, b. 11. p. 143. ¶. 25.
- EDMUND BONNER**, Bishop of London, begins to bonner us, b. 5. p. 231. ¶. 19. deprived under Ed. 6. b. 7. p. 414. his cruell articles, *Hist. of Walth.* p. 18. whom all generations shall call Bloudy, b. 8. S. 2. ¶. 11. why imprisoned in the Marshalsey, b. 9. ¶. 17. traverseth a suite with Horn Bishop of Winchester, S. 4. ¶. 1. his Counsells plea in his behalf, ¶. 2, 3, 4. A drawn Battel betwixt them occasioned by a proviso in a new Statute, ¶. 7.
- BONNES HOMMES** why so called, b. 6. p. 273. ¶. 24. Rich Eremites in pretended povertie, ¶. 25.
- BOOKS** embezeled at the dissolution of Abbies b. 6. p. 334. to the great losse of learning, *ibidem*.
- BOOKS** preparatory to reformation set forth by King Henry the eighth, b. 7. p. 375.
- Gilb. **BOURN**, Bishop of Bath and Wells, why milde in the dayes of Q. Mary, b. 8. S. 2. ¶. 3. his death, b. 9. p. 96. ¶. 26.
- Theoph. **BRADBURN** his Sabbatarian fancies, b. 11. p. 144. ¶. 32.
- Thomas **BRADWARDINE** a great School-man, C. 14. p. 98. ¶. 23. his just praise, *ibidem*. afterwards Arch-bishop of Canterbury.
- BRANDONS**, Brothers. successively Dukes of Suffolk, die of the sweating sicknesse, *Hist. of Cam.* p. 128. ¶. 70. Bishop Paikhurst his Epitaph on them, *ibidem*.

# I N D E X.

- Thomas **BRIGHTMAN** his birth, breeding, b. 10. p. 49. ¶ 12. preferment, ¶ 13. writings, ¶ 14. good life, ¶ 15. and sudden death, ¶ 16, 17.
- BRITANS** their dolefull case whilst Pagans, C. 1. ¶ 1. their principall Idols, ¶ 2. in vain they crave help of the Roman Emperour against the invasion of the Picts, C. 4. ¶ 22. and C. 5. ¶ 14, 15.
- BRITAIN**: the causes hastning the Conversion thereof before other Countries nearer Palestine, C. 1. ¶ 6. why the first Planters of Christianity therein are unknown, ¶ 8. not beholden to Rome for her first Preachers, ¶ 18. not divided into five Roman Provinces (as Giraldus Cambrensis mistakes) untill the time of Flavius Theodosius, C. 2. ¶ 10. Christianity continued therein after the death of King Lucius, C. 3. ¶ 2. by the Testimony of Gildas, Tertullian, and Origen, ¶ 3. in defiance of Dempster a detracting writer, ibid. Why so little left of the primitive Church-History thereof, ¶ 6. and C. 4. ¶ 11.
- BRITISH CLERGY** refuse submission to the Pope of Rome, C. 7. ¶ 3. the Dialogue betwixt them and an Anchorite, ¶ 6.
- BRITISH LANGUAGE** the commendation thereof, C. 7. ¶ 17. vindicated from causlesse cavils, ¶ 18.
- Robert **BROWN** his gentile Extraction, b. 9. p. 166. ¶ 2. deserted by his own Father, p. 167. his opinions, p. 168. spared when his Followers were executed, ¶ 45. the odd occasion of his imprisonment and death, ¶ 46.
- BRUXELS** Benedictine rich Nunnery for English Gentle-women with good portions, b. 6. p. 363.
- Martine **BUICER** called to Cambridge, History of Camb. p. 128. ¶ 32, 33, 34. the various dates of his death, p. 130. ¶ 37. belyed by Parsons to die a Jew, ¶ 38. his bones burnt by Card. Poole, p. 135. ¶ 54.
- BUCKINGHAMSHIRE** paramount for Maryers, b. 5. p. 163. ¶ 2.
- Dr. Cornelius **BURGES** his speech against Deans and Chapters, b. 11. p. 179. ¶ 73, 74.
- Henry **BURTON** his character, b. 14. p. 152. ¶ 59. cause of discontent, ¶ 60. degraded, p. 143. ¶ 68. his words on the Pillory, ¶ 69, 70. brought back from Exile in Triumph, p. 172. ¶ 32.
- C.
- Jack **CADE** his rebellion, b. 4. p. 186. ¶ 22.
- CADOCUS** his discreet devotion, C. 6. ¶ 7.
- CADVALLADER** last K. of VVales, founder at Rome a Hospitall for the VVelch, C. 7. ¶ 104. since injuriously taken from them, ¶ 105.
- CAIUS** Colledge in Cambridge founded by Dr. Caius, Hist. of Camb. p. 133. ¶ 45. who bestowed good Lands, building, statutes, Name, and Armes thereon, ¶ 46, 47. &c. fruitfull with famous Physicians, ¶ 52.
- CAMBRAÏ**: a Nunnery therein founded for English women by the Spanish Ambassadour, b. 6. p. 363.
- CAMBRIDGE** reported to have received divers priviledges from King Lucius, C. 2. ¶ 12. ter Christian Students reported slain by the Pagan Britans, C. 4. ¶ 9. & persecuted (to the dissolution of the Univerſity) by Pelagius, C. 5. ¶ 2. repured first founded by King Seebert, C. 7. ¶ 46. Arguments to the contrary answered, ¶ 47. &c. called Schola, which was in that Age the same with an Academy, ¶ 54. restored by King Edward the Elder, C. 10. ¶ 6, 7. mistaken by John Reule for the founder thereof, ¶ 8. renounceth the Popes supremacy in a publick instrument, Hist. of Camb. p. 106. ¶ 50. the first generall visitation thereof, jure Regio, Hist. of Camb. p. 109. ¶ 55. King Henry his Injunctions thereunto, p. 112. ¶ 56.
- Edmund **CAMPIAN** sent over by the Pope to pervert England, B. 9. p. 114. ¶ 41. his journall letter, p. 115, 116, 117. catch'd by secretary Walsingham, ibid. falsely pretends to be cruelly racked, p. 117. ¶ 2. is at last executed.
- CANONS** made in the last Convocation, with the &c. Oath therein, b. 11. p. 168, 169. severall opinions about them, p. 171. Mr. Maynard his speech against them, p. 180. ¶ 77. the Clergy are judged in a Pramunire for making them, ¶ 78.
- King **CANUTUS** his cruelty, C. 11. ¶ 5. conversion and charity, ibidem &c.
- Jo. **CAPON** Bishop of Salisbury, a cruell persecuter under Q. Mary, b. 8. S. 2. ¶ 5. the baner of his Bishoprick, b. 9. ¶ 21.
- Nic. **CARR** his Epitaph, Hist. of Camb. p. 141.
- George **CARLTON** Bishop of Landaf, sent by K. James to the Synod of Dort, B. 10. p. 77. ¶ 63. dieth Bishop of Chichester, b. 11. ¶ 67.
- CARMELITES** their first coming into England, p. 271. ¶ 18. great priviledges, ¶ 19. most carefull keepers of the Records of their order, ¶ 20. a Catalogue of their Provincials, p. 272. their first coming to Cambridge, Hist. of Camb. p. 20. ¶ 5. where they would not commence Doctors, and why, ibid. till Humphry Nefton first brake the ice, ¶ 6. learned writers of their order which were Cambridge-men, Hist. Camb. p. 30. ¶ 27.
- CARTHUSIAN Monks**, b. 6. p. 269. ¶ 9.
- Tho. **CARTWRIGHT** presents his admonition to the Parliament, b. 9. p. 102. ¶ 5. banaying betwixt him, and Dr. Whitgift, ¶ 6, 7. examined in the high Commission on 29. Articles, b. 9. p. 198. &c. sent to the Fleet for refusing to answer, p. 203. discharged the Star-Chamber by favour of Arch-bishop Whitgift p. 204. ¶ 31. groweth rich at Warwick, b. 10. ¶ 7. and very moderate, ¶ 8. The reasons thereof, ibid. His character, ¶ 9. dedicates a Book to King James, ¶ 18. His strange infirmity and death, ¶ 19. his first cause of discontentment, Hist. of Camb. p. 139. ¶ 2. clasketh with Dr. Whitgift, p. 140. ¶ 3. by whom he is summoned, p. 141. and banished the Univerſity, p. 142.
- John **CASE** Dr. of Physick, b. 8. S. 3. ¶ 45. the great favour done by the Univerſity to his Scholars at Oxford, ibidem.
- CAURSINES** what they were, b. 3. p. 59. ¶ 6. the form of their cruell Obligations, p. 60. with some notes thereon, ibidem. why they were called Caurſines, p. 61. ¶ 8.
- St. **CEDDE** his difference from St. Chad, C. 7. ¶ 84.
- St. **CHAD** his difference from St. Cedde, C. 7. ¶ 84. teacheth Wulfade the Christian faith, ¶ 86.
- CHANTEREYES** given to the King, b. 6. p. 250. ¶ 2. what they were, ¶ 5. Fourty seven founded in St. Pauls Church in London, p. 351, 352, &c. vast, though uncertain, their number in England, p. 354. ¶ 18.
- Free **CHAPPELS** given to the King, b. 6. p. 354. ¶ 15.
- King **CHARLES** his solemn coronation, b. 11. ¶ 19, &c. restoreth Impropriations of Ireland to the Church, p. 149. ¶ 45. unwillingly consenteth to the taking away of Bishops votes in Parliament, p. 195.



# I N D E X.

- p. 195. ¶. 29, and 30. his severall papers in the Isle of Wight in defence of Episcopacie, p. 230, 231, &c. his death, which endeth the eleventh Book.
- CHARLES** eldest Son to King Charles, his short life, b. 11. p. 135. ¶. 1. an excellent Terraſt. c. on his death, ¶. 2.
- CHARTER-HOUSE** founded by Mr. Sutton, b. 10. p. 65. in some respect exceeding the Annunziata at Naples, p. 66. ¶. 21.
- Thomas CHASE** cruelly martyred, b. 5. p. 164. ¶. 3.
- Geffery CHAWCER** the famous Poet, b. 4. p. 151. ¶. 46. his Parentage, Armes, and praise, p. 152. ¶. 47, 48. his enmity to Friars, ¶. 49. Student sometimes in Cambridge, Hist. Camb. p. 52. ¶. 38. as also in Oxford, ibidem.
- CHEALSEY Colledge** a large discourse of the foundation thereof, b. 10. p. 51, 52, 53, &c.
- Sr. J. CHEEK** Tutor to King Edward the sixth, b. 7. p. 422. ¶. 12. restored to health by King Edward's prayers, p. 424. ¶. 13. A prime Exile in the Reign of Q. Mary, b. 8. S. 2. ¶. 24. his sad return into England, ¶. 30. orally recanteth, ¶. 31. and dyeth for the grief thereof, ibidem. vindicated from standing (and mistaking) Pens in his Parentage, Parts, and Posterity, ¶. 32.
- Henry CHICHELEY** Arch-bishop of Canterbury foundeth All-Souls Colledge, b. 4. p. 181. ¶. 10. soberly returneth a tart year, p. 182. ¶. 11. saveth Abbies by sending King Henry the fifth into France, b. 6. p. 208. ¶. 5.
- CHRIST-CHURCH** in Oxford, b. 5. p. (169.) ¶. 28, &c. confirmed by King Henry the eighth, ¶. 30. the Deans, Bishops, Benefactors, &c. thereof, ¶. 32.
- John CHRISTOPHERSON** Bishop of Chichester, a learned man, but great persecuter, under Q. Mary, b. 8. S. 2. ¶. 8.
- CHRISTS COLLEDGE** founded by Margaret Countesse of Darby, Hist. of Camb. p. 90. ¶. 55. endowed it with richlands, ¶. 56. augmented by King Edward the sixth, p. 91. ¶. 7. Their numerous worthies of this foundation, ¶. 9.
- CIRCUMSPECTE AGATIS** the form thereof, b. 3. p. 79. ¶. 15. both a statute & a writ grounded thereon, p. 80. a large discourse of the severall branches thereof, p. 81, 82, 83.
- CISTERTIANS** being refined Benedictines, b. 6. p. 266. ¶. 2. exempted by Pope Adrian the fourth from paying of Tithes, and why, p. 283. ¶. 4. their freedom somewhat confined by the Lateran Council, ¶. 5.
- CLARE HALL** founded by Elizabeth Countesse of Clare, Hist. of Camb. p. 37. ¶. 41. The Masters, Benefactors, Bishops, &c. thereof, ibidem. anciently called Soler Hall, p. 38. ¶. 44. ruinous, and lately re-edified, ¶. 45. Four hundred pounds worth of timber reported taken from it in these troublesome times, which the Authour of this Book will not believe, ibid.
- CLAUDIA** mentioned by St. Paul 2. Tim. 4. 21. probably a British Convert, C. 1. ¶. 9. notwithstanding Parsons his Cavils to the contrary, ¶. 10.
- CLUNIACK Monks** being reformed Benedictines, b. 6. p. 266. ¶. 2.
- Elianor COBHAM** Dutcheſs of Gloceſter, accused for a Sorceress by some, made a Confessor by M. Fox, b. 4. p. 171, &c.
- COIFY** a Pagan Priest, his remarkable speech, C. 7. ¶. 41.
- COLCHESTER** claimeth Constantine to be born therein, C. 4. ¶. 18. Augustinian Monks had there their prime residence, b. 6. p. 268. ¶. 6.
- COLLEDGES** (not in the Universities, but) for superstitious uses, given to the King, b. 6. p. 350. ¶. 3, 4, 5.
- John COLLET** Dean of St. Pauls, b. 5. p. (167.) ¶. 13. foundeth Pauls School, ¶. 14. making the Mercers overseers thereof, ¶. 15. out of provident presciences, ¶. 16.
- Tho. COMBER** Master of Trinity Colledge in Camb. highly commended by Morinus, History of Camb. p. 123. ¶. 20.
- High COMMISSION** arguments for, and against it, b. 9. p. 183.
- CONSTANTINE** the first Christian Emperour proved a Britan by birth, C. 4. ¶. 15. the objections to the contrary answered, ¶. 16. richly endoweth the Church, ¶. 19.
- CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS** the Roman Emperour, and, though no Christian, a favourer of them, C. 4. ¶. 12. buried at York, and not in Wales, as Florilegus will have us, ¶. 13.
- CONVENTICLE** the true meaning thereof, b. 9. p. 102. ¶. 4.
- CONVENTS** some generall conformities used in them all, b. 6. p. 287, &c.
- CONVOCATIONS** three severall sorts of them, b. 5. p. (190) (191.) they complain of erroneous opinions, p. 209, 210, &c.
- CORPUS CHRISTI COL.** in Camb. See Bennet Colledge.
- CORPUS CHRISTI COLL.** in Oxford founded by Bishop Fox, b. 5. p. (166.) ¶. 11. called the Colledge of three Languages, ibid. the worthies thereof, ibid. Masse quickly set up therein in the first of Q. Mary, b. 8. p. 8. ¶. 10, 11.
- Dr. John COSEN** charged with superstition: his due praise, b. 11. p. 173. ¶. 34, &c.
- The Scottish COVENANT** the form thereof, b. 11. p. 201. ¶. 13, &c. exceptions to the Preface and six Articles therein, 203, 204, 205, 206. never taken by the Authour of this Book, p. 206. ¶. 30.
- Will. COURTNEY** Bishop of London, his contests about Wickliffe with the Duke of Lancaster, b. 4. ¶. 135. ¶. 19. Arch-bishop of Canterbury, p. 142. ¶. 24.
- COURTS SPIRITUALL** began in the Reign of King William the first: when severed from the Sheriffs Courts, b. 3. ¶. 10. Their contesting with the Common Law how to be reconciled, ¶. 11.
- Richard COX** Dean of Christs Church accused (ris hoped, unjustly) for cancelling Manuscripts in Oxford Library, b. 7. p. 303. ¶. 19, 20. flies to Frankford in the Reign of Queen Mary, b. 8. p. 30. ¶. 3. where he headerh a strong party in defence of the English Liturgie, p. 31, 32. made Bishop of Ely, b. 9. p. 63. his death, and Epitaph, p. 111. ¶. 34.
- Thomas CRANMER** employed by King Henry to the Pope, b. 5. p. (179.) ¶. 9. to prove the unlawfulness of the Kings marriage, ¶. 18. thence sent into Germany, ¶. 22. made Arch-bishop of Canterbury against his will, ¶. 27. defended against the cavils of Papists and Mr. Prin, ¶. 28, &c. his death, b. 8. p. 203. ¶. 32.
- CREKELADE** or GREEKLADE, an ancient place where Greek was professed, C. 9. ¶. 29.
- CROWLAND Monks** massacred by the Danes, C. 9. ¶. 19.
- Thomas CROMWELL** first known to the World, for defending his Mr. Card. Wolſey, b. 5. p. (177.) ¶. 1.

# I N D E X.

- as the Kings Vicar in Spiritualibus presidenteth in the Convocation, p. 206. ¶ 21. falls into the Kings displeasure, p. 231. ¶ 20. deservedly envied, ¶ 11. his admirable parts, ¶ 22. with the History of his death, &c. ¶ 23, &c. Chancelour of Cambridge, Hist. of Cambridge, p. 108. ¶ 53.
- RICHARD CROMWELL** alias Williams, Knighted for his valour at a solemn tilting, b. 6. p. 370. ¶ 11. giveth a Diamond Ring in his Crest on an honourable occasion, ¶ 12.
- CUTHBERT** Arch-bishop of Canterbury (by the Kings leave) first brings Bodys to be buried in the Church, b. 2. p. 103. ¶ 27.
- D.
- DANES** their first arrivall in England, B. 2. p. 103. ¶ 29. why their country (formerly so fruitful) is lately so barren of people, ¶ 30, 31, 32. the sad Prognosticks of their coming thither, ¶ 33. make an invasion into Lincolnshire, C. 9. ¶ 18. massacre the Monks of Crowland, C. 9. ¶ 19. and burn the Monastery of Medeshamsted, ¶ 20, 21. why their fury fell more on Convents then Castles, C. 10. ¶ 48. after sixty years absence re-invade England, *ibidem*. A dear peace bought with them, ¶ 50. to no purpose, ¶ 52. their Royall line in England suddenly and strangely extinct, C. 11. ¶ 10. no hostile appearance of them in England, ¶ 13.
- Thomas L. DARCY** beheaded, B. 6. p. 313. ¶ 5. his Extraction vindicated from the causelesse Aspersions of King Henry the eighth, page 324, 325.
- John DAVENANT** sent by King James to the Synod of Dort, B. 10. p. 77. ¶ 63. made Bishop of Salisbury, B. 10. p. 91. ¶ 35. questioned for his Sermon at Court, B. 11. p. 138. ¶ 14, 15. relates all the passages thereof in a Letter to Dr. Ward, ¶ 16. his opinion about the suspension of Bishop Goodman, p. 170. ¶ 23. his death, p. 176. ¶ 53.
- St. DAVID** a great advancer of Monastick life, C. 6. ¶ 4. one of his paramaunt Miracles, ¶ 5.
- St. DAVIDS**, or Menevia, in Wales, once an Arch-bishoprick, B. 3. p. 24. ¶ 25. contesteth with Canterbury, *ibidem*. but is overpowered, ¶ 26.
- DEANES and CHAPTERS** defended in the House of Commons by an excellent speech of Doctor Hackets, B. 11. p. 177, 178, 179.
- Edward DEERING** his death and praise, B. 9. p. 109. ¶ 22.
- Sr. Anth. DENNIE** his extractions, issue, death, and Epitaph, Hist. of Wale. p. 12, 13.
- DERVVIANUS** sent by Eleutherius Bishop of Rome to King Lucius to instruct him in Christianity, C. 2. ¶ 8.
- DEVONSHIRE** commotion begun out of superstition, heightened with cruelty, suppressed by Gods blessing on the valour of the Lord Russell, B. 7. p. 393, 394. &c.
- The DIRECTORY** compiled by the Assembly of Divines, B. 11. p. 221. ¶ 1. commanded by the Parliament, ¶ 6. forbidden by the King to be generally used, ¶ 7. it and the Liturgy compared together, p. 223, 224.
- DISSENTING BRETHREN**, B. 11. ¶ 35. why departing the Lands, ¶ 36. kindly entertained in Holland, ¶ 37. their chief ground-works, ¶ 39, 40. manner of Church-services, ¶ 41. Schism betwixt them, ¶ 42, &c.
- Sr. Th. DOCKWRA** Lord Prior of St. Joanes, B. 6. p. 359. ¶ 4. and p. 361. in the dedication.
- John DOD** his birth, and breeding, b. 11. p. 219. ¶ 85. his peaceable disposition, ¶ 86. improving of piety, p. 220. ¶ 87, &c. an innocent deceiver, ¶ 90. excellent Hebrician, ¶ 91. last of the old Puritans, ¶ 92.
- DOGGES** meat given to men, b. 3. p. 29. ¶ 46.
- DOMINICAN** Friars their first coming over into England, b. 6. p. 270. ¶ 15. after their expulsion set up again by Q. Mary, p. 357. the learned men of this order who were bred in Cambrid. Hist. of Cam. p. 30.
- De DOMINIS** Marcus Antonius, see SPALATO.
- John DONNE** Dean of St. Pauls prolocutour in the Convocation, b. 10. p. 112. ¶ 15. his life excellently written by Mr. Isaac Walton, ¶ 16.
- DOOMES-DAY** Book composed by the command of Will. the Conquerour, b. 3. ¶ 3.
- DORT** Synod, b. 10. p. 77. ¶ 63. four English Divines sent thither, *ibidem*. King James his Instructions unto them, p. 77, 78. Oath at their admission into it, p. 78. ¶ 66. liberall allowance from the State, p. 77. ¶ 77. various censures on the decisions thereof, p. 84. ¶ 5. &c.
- The DOVE** on King Charles his Sceptre ominously broken off, b. 11. ¶ 16.
- Thomas DOVE** Bishop of Peterborough his death, b. 11. p. 41. ¶ 17.
- DOWAY COLL.** in Flanders for English fugitives, b. 9. p. 85. A Convent there for Benedictine Monks, b. 6. p. 365. And another for Franciscan Friars, 366.
- DRUIDE** their office, and employment amongst the Pagan Britans, C. 1. ¶ 3.
- The DUTCH** Congregation first set up in London, b. 7. p. 407. ¶ 33. privileges allowed them by King Edward the sixth, *ibidem*. under Queen Mary depart with much difficulty and danger into Denmark, b. 8. p. 8. ¶ 13.
- DUBLIN** University founded by Queen Elizabeth, b. 9. p. 211. ¶ 44. the severall benefactors (whereof Mr. Luke Chaloner a chief) p. 212. no rain by day during the building of the Colledge, *ibidem*. The Provosts thereof, p. 213. ¶ 47.
- DUBRITIUS** Arch-bishop of Caer-lion, a great Champion of the truth against Pelagius, C. 6. ¶ 3.
- A DUCATE** worth about four shillings, but imprinted eight, b. 5. p. (196) ¶ 37.
- Andrew DUCKET** in effect the founder of Queens Colledge in Cambridge, Hist. of Cambridge, p. 80. ¶ 33.
- St. DUNSTAN** his story at large, Cent. 10. ¶ 11. &c. his death and burial in Canterbury, ¶ 44. as appeared (notwithstanding the claim of Glasfenbury) by discovery, ¶ 45, 46.
- DUNWOLPHUS** of a swine-herd made Bishop of Winchester, C. 9. ¶ 41.
- DURHAM** the Bishoprick dissolved by King Edward the sixth, b. 7. p. 419. ¶ 2. restored by Queen Mary, ¶ 3.
- Vvil. DYNET** the solemn abjuration injoyned him wherein he promiseth to worship Images, b. 4. p. 150.



E.

**EASTER-DAY**, difference betwixt the British & Romish Church in the observation thereof, Cent. 7. ¶ 5. the Controversie stated betwixt them, ¶ 28. reconciled by Laurentius, ¶ 30. the antiquity of this difference, ¶ 31. spreads into private families, ¶ 89. A counsell called to compose it, ¶ 90. settled by Theodorus according to the Romish Rite, ¶ 96.

**EATON COLLEDGE** founded by K. Henry the sixth, b. 4.

**EDGAR**, King of England, Cent. 10. ¶ 24. disciplined by Dunstan for viciating a Nun, ¶ 26. The many Canons made by him why in this book omitted, ¶ 29. A most Triumphant King, ¶ 30. his death, ¶ 34.

**EDMUND** King of the East Angles cruelly Martyred by the Danes, Cent. 9. ¶ 22.

**EDWARD the Elder** calls a Conncell to confirm his Fathers acts, Cent. 10. ¶ 5. gives great Priviledges to Cambridge, ¶ 6.

**EDWARD the Martyr**, Cent. 8. ¶ 34. Barbarously murdered, ¶ 42.

**EDWARD the Confessor** his life at large, Cent. 11. ¶ 11, &c.

**King EDWARD the first**, his advantages to the Crown though absent at his Fathers death, b. 3. p. 74. ¶ 3. his achievements against the Turkes, ¶ 4. Casteth the Iews out of England, p. 87. ¶ 47. chosen arbitrator betwixt Baliol & Bruce, claiming the Kingdome of Scotland, p. 88. ¶ 49. which Kingdome he conquereth for himself, ¶ 50. stoutly maintaineth his right against the Pope, p. 90. ¶ 2. humbled Rob. Winchelsey, Arch-bishop of Cant. ¶ 4, 5. the Dialogue betwixt them, 6. his death and character, p. 92. ¶ 11. his Arme the standard of the English yard, ibid.

**King EDWARD the second** his character, b. 3. p. 93. ¶ 13. fatally defeated by the Scots, ¶ 14. his viciousnesse, p. 100. ¶ 28. accused for betraying his Priviledges to the Pope, ¶ 29. his deposing and death, p. 102.

**King EDWARD the third**, a most valiant and fortunate King both by Sea and Land foundeth Kings Hall in Cambridge. Hist. of Camb. p. 39. ¶ 36. his death and Character, b. 4. p. 136. ¶ 12.

**King EDWARD the fourth** gaineth the Crown by Conquest, b. 4. p. 190. ¶ 46. Beaten afterwards in Battel, by the Earle of VVarwick, p. 191. ¶ 31. escapeth out of prison, flyeth beyond the Seas, returneth and recovereth the Crown, ¶ 32, 33. A Benefactour to Merton Coll. in Oxford, b. 3. p. 75. ¶ 7. but Malefactour to Kings Coll. in Cambridge, Hist. of Camb. p. 76. ¶ 19. his death, b. 4. p. 199. ¶ 42.

**King EDWARD the fifth** barbarously murdered by his Uncle Richard Duke of York, b. 4. p. 196. ¶ 5.

**King EDWARD the sixth** his Injunctions, b. 7. ¶ 3. observations thereon, p. 374. his severall proclamations, whereof one inhibiteth all Preachers in England for a time, p. 388, 389. his TEXT ROYAL, and our observations thereon, p. 397, 398. &c. Giveth an account by letter, to B. Fitz-Patrick, of his progresse; p. 412, 413. severall letters written by him, p. 423, 424. his diary, p. 425. ¶ 14. quick wit, and pious prayer, ¶ 17. at his death, ibid.

**EDWIN** King of Northumberland, and in effect Monarch of England, after long preparatory promises, Cent. 7. ¶ 39, &c. at last converted and

baptised, ¶ 43. slain by the Pagans in Battel, ¶ 60.

**EGBERT**, Arch-bishop of York, famous in severall respects, b. 2. p. 101. ¶ 23. his beastly Canons, ¶ 24.

**EGBERT**, first fixed Monarch of England, Cent. 8. ¶ 41. First giveth the name of England, Cent. 9. ¶ 5, 6. Is disturbed by the Danes, ¶ 7.

**ELEUTHERIUS** Bishop of Rome his Letter to King Lucius, Cent. 2. ¶ 6. pretendeth to an ancient date then what is due thereunto, ¶ 7. sends two Divines into Britain, ¶ 8.

**ELIE** Abbey made the See of a Bishop, b. 3. p. 23. ¶ 23. the feasts therein exceed all in England, b. 6. p. 299. ¶ 11.

**ELIZABETH** proclaimed, b. 8. p. 43. ¶ 56. assumeth the title of supreme head of the Church, b. 9. p. 152. ¶ 4. defended therein against Papists, p. 53. ¶ 5, 6. &c. Excommunicated by Pope Pius quintus, b. 9. p. 93, 94. Her farewell to Oxford with a Latine Oration, b. 9. p. 223. ¶ 7, 8. Her well-come to Cambridge with a Latine Oration, Hist. of Cambridge, p. 138. her death, b. 10. p. 4. ¶ 12.

**Iohn ELMAR** Bishop of London his death and Character, b. 9. p. 223. ¶ 10.

**ELVANUS** sent by King Lucius to Eleutherius Bishop of Rome, Cent. 2. ¶ 5.

**EMDEN** a Congregation of English Exiles therein in the Reign of Q. Mary under I. Scory their Superintendent, b. 8. Sect. 2. ¶ 41.

**EMMA** the miraculous purgation of her chastity, Cent. 11. ¶ 14, 15.

**EAST-ANGLES** their Kingdome, when begun, how bounded, Cent. 5. ¶ 27. converted to Christianity, Cent. 7. ¶ 44.

**EAST-SAXONS**, the beginning and bounds of their Kingdome, Cent. 5. ¶ 17. converted to Christianity by Mellitus, Cent. 7. ¶ 23. after their apostasy, reconverted under King Siebert, ¶ 81.

**ENGLAND** when and why first so called, Cent. 9. ¶ 5, 6. the Kingdome thereof belongeth to God himself, Cent. 11. ¶ 24.

**ENGLISHMEN** drunk when conquered by the Normans, b. 3. ¶ 1.

**EOVES** a Swine-herd, hence Evesham Abbey is so called, Cent. 8. ¶ 8.

**ERASMUS** (Greek Professour in Camb.) complaineth of the ill Ale therein. Hist. of Camb. p. 87. his Censure of Cambridge and Oxford, p. 88. too tart to Townsmen, ibid.

**ERASTIANS** why so called and what they held, b. 11. p. 21. ¶ 55. and 56. favourably heard in the assembly of Divines, ¶ 57.

**ERMENSEWL** a Saxon Idoll, his shape, and offices, b. 2. Cent. 6. ¶ 6.

**ETHELBERT** King his Character, b. 2. Cent. 6. ¶ 6. &c. converted to Christianity, ¶ 11. his death, and the decay of Christianity thereon, Cent. 7. ¶ 32.

**ETHELBERT** the VVest-Saxon Monarch his pious valour, Cent. 9. ¶ 23.

**King ETHELRED** his Fault in the Font, Cent. 10. ¶ 43. why Surnamed the unready, ¶ 49.

**EXCOMMUNICATING** of Q. Elizab. by Pius quintus, displeasing on many accounts, to moderate Papists, b. 9. p. 59. ¶ 25.

**EXETER**, the description thereof, b. 7. p. 393. ¶ 4. Loyall and Valiant against the Rebels though oppressed with faction, p. 394. ¶ 7. and famine, p. 396. ¶ 12. seasonably relieved p. 397. ¶ 14.

FA-

## F.

**PAGANUS** sent by Eleutherius Bishop of Rome to King Luctus to instruct him in Christianity, Cent. 2. ¶ 8.

**FAMILIE of LOVE**, their obscure original, b. 9. p. 112. ¶ 36. worse in practise then opinion, p. 113. ¶ 39. their Abjuration before the privy Councell. Their tedious petition to King James, b. 10. ¶ 18. desire to separate themselves from the Puritans, (to whom their looseness had no relation) ¶ 19. turned into Ranters in our dayes, ¶ 22.

John **FECKNAM** Abbot of Westminster, the Chronicle of his worthy life, his courtesie and bounty, b. 9. p. 178, 179.

**FELIX** Bishop of Dunwich instrumentall to the Conversion of the East-Angles, Cent. 7. ¶ 45. and to the founding of an University in Cambrid. ¶ 48.

Nicholas **FELTON** Bishop of Ely, his death and commendation, b. 11. ¶ 77.

**FENNES** nigh Cambridge: Arguments pro and con. about the feasibility of their drayning, Hist. of Camb. p. 70. & 71. The design lately performed to admiration, ibid. p. 72.

**FEOFFES** to buy in impropriations, b. 11. p. 136. ¶ 5. hopefully proceed, p. 137. ¶ 6. questioned in the Exchequer, and overthrown by Arch-bishop Laud, p. 143. ¶ 26, &c.

The **FIFTH PART** ordered by Parliament for the Widows and children of sequestred Ministers, b. 11. p. 229. ¶ 34. severall shifts to evade the payment thereof, p. 230.

John **FISHER** Bishop of Rochester tampereth with the holy Maid of Kent, b. 5. p. (187) ¶ 47. imprisoned for refusing the Oath of supremacy, ¶ 47. his pitifull letter out of the Tower for new Cloaths, p. (190) ¶ 12. the form of his indictment, p. (191) ¶ 19. made Cardinal, p. 201. ¶ 1. the whole Hist. of his birth, breeding, death and burial, p. 202, 203, 204, 205.

Barnaby **FITZ-PATRICK** proxy for correction to King Edward the sixth, b. 7. p. 411. ¶ 47. the said Kings instruction unto him for his behaviour in France, ibidem.

**FLAMENS** in Britain, more flames of J. Monmouths making, Cent. 2. ¶ 9.

**FOCARIÆ** of Priests who they were, b. 3. p. 27. ¶ 40.

**FORMOSUS** the Pope interdicteth England for want of Bishops, Cent. 10. ¶ 1. On good conditions absolveth again ¶ 3.

Richard **FOX** Bishop of Winchester foundeth Corpus Christi Colledge, b. 5. p. (166.) ¶ 11.

John **FOX** flies to Frankford in the Reign of Q. Mary b. 8. Sect. 2. ¶ 41. Thence (on a sad difference) removes to Basil, Sect. 3. ¶ 10. returning into England refuseth to subscribe the Canons, b. 9. ¶ 68. Is a most moderate Non-conformist, ibidem. his Latine Letter to Queen Elizabeth that Anabaptists might not be burnt, p. 104. ¶ 13. another to a Bishop in the behalf of his own Son, p. 106. ¶ 15. his death, p. 187. ¶ 63.

**FRANCISCAN** Friars, b. 6. p. 270. ¶ 16. their frequent Subreformation, ¶ 17. admit boyes into their order, Hist. of Camb. p. 54. ¶ 46, 47, 48. whereat the University is much offended, ibid.

**FRANCKFORD**, the Congregation of English Exiles there in the Reign of Q. Mary, b. 8. Sect. 3. ¶ 41. They set up a new discipline in their Church, ¶ 42, 43. invite (but in vain) all other English Exiles to join with them, ¶ 44, 45.

**FREEZLAND** converted to Christianity by VVilfrid a Saxon Bishop, Cent. 7. ¶ 97.

**FRIDON** A the first English Arch-Bishop, C. 7. ¶ 85.

**FRIERS** and Monks how they differ, b. 6. p. 269.

**FRIGA** a Saxon Idoll, her name, shape and office, b. 2. Cent. 6. ¶ 6.

John **FRITH** his Martyrdome, b. 5. p. (190) ¶ 11.

Tho. **FULLER** unjustly hang'd, and saved by miracle, b. 4. p. 154. ¶ 25.

John **FULLER** Doctor of Law, pitifull when alone, but when with others, a persecutor, b. 8. p. 22. ¶ 28. see Jesus Colledge, of which he was master.

Nich. **FULLER**, a Common Lawyer, prosecuted to death by Bishop Bancroft, b. 10. p. 55, 56. ¶ 29, 30. leaves a good memory behind him, ibid.

Nicholas **FULLER**, a Divine, his deserved commendation, b. 11. ¶ 15.

Robert **FULLER** last Abbot of Waltham, a great preserver of the Antiquities thereof, History of VValt. p. 7. passerh Copt-Hall to King Henry 8. p. 11. his legacy to the Church, p. 14.

Thomas **FULLER**, Pilot who steered the Ship of Cavendish about the world, b. 11. p. 231.

## G.

**GANT COLL.** in Flanders, for English fugitives, b. 9. p. 91.

**STEPHAN GARDINER**, Bishop of Winchester, getteth the six bloody Articles to be enacted, b. 5. p. 230. ¶ 17, 18. br. ngeth in a List of Latine words in the N. Test. which he would not have translated, p. 238. for his obstinacie first sequestered, then deposed from his Bishoprick, b. 7. p. 400. and 401. a politick, plotting Persecuter, b. 8. Sect. 2. ¶ 6. yet courteous in sparing Ministers Clerk the Authors great Grandmother, ¶ 7. his threatening of the English Exiles, Sect. 3. ¶ 22. dieth a Protestant in the point of Iustification, ¶ 42.

Henry **GARNET** Jesuite, his education and viciousnesse, b. 10. p. 39. ¶ 45. canvased in the Tower by Protestant Divines, ¶ 46. &c. overwitted with an equivocating room, ¶ 48. his arraignment and condemnation, p. 40. 49. dejected carriage at his death, 50. his Straw Miracle confuted, ¶ 51. &c.

**GENEVA**: such English, who deserted the Church at Frankford, settled there, b. 8. p. 52. ¶ 10. their names, ibid. they send a letter to those at Frankford, about accommodation, which cometh too late, b. 9. p. 52. ¶ 3. the State thereof oppressed by the Savoyard, sues to England for relief, p. 136. their suite coldly resented, and why, p. 137. ¶ 20. yet some years after, the necessity thereof bountifully relieved by the English Clergy, b. 10. p. 4. ¶ 11.

**GENEVA** Translation of the Bible, made by the English Exiles there, b. 8. p. 36. ¶ 27. the marginal notes thereof disliked by King James, b. 10. p. 14. our Translatours enjoyed by him to peruse it, p. 47. ¶ 1. the Brethren complain for the lack of their notes, p. 58. ¶ 51. which Doctor H causelessly inveighed against, 52.

**GERMANUS** invited hither by the British Bishops, Cent. 5. ¶ 4. (assisted with Lupus ibid.) His disputation with the Pelagians, ¶ 6. in a most remarkable Conference at S. Albans, ¶ 7, 8. miraculously conquereth the Pagan Picts and Saxons, ¶ 10. is said to exchange some Relicks for S. Albans, ¶ 11. his return into Britain to suppress re-sprouting Pelagianisme in a Synod, ¶ 12, 13.

**GILBERTINE** Monks, b. 6. p. 268. ¶ 8.

Ant. **GILBY** a fierce Non-conformist, b. 9. p. 76. ¶ 70.

**GILDAS**, a British writer, calleth his Countrymen



# I N D E X.

- men the Inke of the Age, C. 5. ¶. 14. why he omitteth the worthies of his Nation, C. 6. ¶. 2.
- GILDAS** surnamed Albanus, struck dumb at the sight of a Nun with Child, the reported Mother of St. David, C. 5. ¶. 23.
- Bernard GILPIN** refuseth the Bishoprick of Carlisle, and why, b. 9. p. 63. ¶. 32. his Apostolicall life and death, ibid.
- GLASSE**, the making thereof first brought into England, C. 7. ¶. 87.
- GLASSENbury**: the most ancient Church in Christendome [said to be] erected therein, C. 1. ¶. 13. The plain platforme thereof, ibidem. The story of the Hawthorn thereby, budding on Christmas day examined, ¶. 15, 16, 17. cut down lately by the Souldiers, ibidem. The twelve British Monks with their hard names dwelling there, C. 5. ¶. 18. though St. Patrick never lived in that Monastery, ¶. 20. the high praise of the place, ibidem. with profane flattery, C. 10. p. 136. ¶. 46.
- Roger GOAD** the worthy Provost of Kings Colledge, Hist. of Camb. p. 143. ¶. 5.
- Thomas GOAD** his Son sent to the Synod of Dort, b. 10. p. 80. ¶. 71.
- GODFATHERS** used to men of mature age, C. 7. ¶. 103.
- Christopher GOODMAN**, a violent Non-conformist, b. 9. p. 77. ¶. 72.
- Godfry GOODMAN** Bishop of Gloucester, suspended for his refusing to subscribe to the New Canons, b. 11. p. 170. ¶. 22, 23.
- John GOODMAN** a seminarie Priest, banished betwixt life and death, b. 11. p. 173. ¶. 39 &c.
- Earle GODWIN** by cheating gets the Nunnery of Berkley, C. 11. ¶. 19. and the rich Mannour of Bosham, ¶. 20.
- Francis GODWIN** Son of a Bishop, and himself made Bishop of Landaff by Q. Elizabeth, in whose Reign he was born, b. 9. ¶. 4.
- Count GONDOMAR** reared by Spalato returns it to purpose, b. 10. p. 95. ¶. 7, and 8. procureth the Enlargement of many Iesuites, p. 100. ¶. 22. a bitter complement passed on him by the Earle of Oxford, p. 101. ¶. 21. King James (by him willingly deceived, p. 114. ¶. 30.) his smart return unto him, ¶. 31.
- GRAVELIN** Nunnery founded by the Gages for the English of the poore Order of St. Clare, b. 6. p. 363.
- The GREEK** tongue: difference about the pronunciation thereof, Hist. of Camb. p. 119. ¶. 7, &c.
- Rich. GREENHAM** dieth of the Plague, b. 9. p. 219. ¶. 64. humbled in his life-time with an obstinate Parish which he left at last, ¶. 66. but with his own disliking, p. 223. ¶. 68. a great observer of the Sabbath, ¶. 69.
- GREGORY** the Great his discourse with the Merchants at Rome about the English Slaves, b. 2. C. 6. ¶. 1. would in person, but doth by proxy endeavour Englands Conversion, ¶. 2. his exhortatory letter to Augustine, ¶. 3.
- St. GRIMBALD** a prime Professour in Oxford, C. 9. ¶. 30. his contest with the old Students therein, and departure in discontent, ¶. 39.
- Edmund GRINDAL** made Bishop of London, b. 9. p. 62. ¶. 31. his discourse with the Non-conformist then Arch-bishop of Cant. p. 108. ¶. 18. why he fell into the Queens displeasure, p. 119. ¶. 1. the Latine Petition of the Convocation per'd by Toby Matthews to the Queen in his behalf prevaileth not, p. 120, 121. his large letter to the Queen in defending prophesies, from p. 123. to p. 130. offendeth the Earle of Leicester by denying Lambeth House, p. 130. ¶. 4. our English Eli, p. 163. ¶. 10. dyes poore in estate, but rich in good works, ¶. 11.
- Robert Grout** head Bishop of Lincoln, b. 3. p. 65. ¶. 28. offendeth the Pope, ¶. 29. Sainted (though not by the Pope) by the people, ¶. 31.
- GUNPOWDER TREASON** the story at large, b. 10. p. 34, 35, 36, &c.
- St. GUTHLAKE** the first Saxon Eremit, C. 8. ¶. 7.

## H.

- William HACKET** a blasphemous Heretick b's story, b. 9. p. 204. ¶. 32, &c.
- Dr. John HACKET** his excellent speech in the behalf of Deans and Chapters, b. 11. p. 177, 178, 179.
- Alexander HALES** the first of all School-men, C. 14. p. 96. ¶. 16.
- Sr. Robert HALES** Prior of St. Joanes slain in Jack Straws rebellion, b. 4. p. 140. ¶. 20.
- Sr. James Hales** a Judge refuseth to underwrite the disinheriting of Queen Mary and Q. Elizabeth, b. 8. ¶. 4.
- Joseph HALL** (since Bishop of Norwich) sent by K. James to the Synod of Dort, b. 10. p. 77. ¶. 63. his speech at his departure thence for want of health, p. 79. ¶. 70. his letter to the Author, in just vindication of that Synod against Master Goodwin, p. 85. ¶. 7.
- King HAROLD** usurpeth the Crown, C. 11. ¶. 39. killed, and buried (with much ado) in Waltham, Hist. of Walth. p. 7. ¶. 2.
- Samuel HARSNET** Arch-bishop of York his charging of Bishop Davenant, b. 11. p. 138. ¶. 15. his death, ¶. 31.
- HEAFENFIELD** near Hexham in Northumberland why so called, C. 7. ¶. 63.
- HEILE** a Saxon Idoll, their Esculapius, b. 2. C. 6. ¶. 6. destroyed by Augustine the Monk, C. 7. ¶. 21.
- King HENRY** the first, surnamed Beauclark, his Coronation, b. 3. p. 13. ¶. 41. married Maud a professed Vorary, p. 15. ¶. 1, 2, &c. claspeth with Anselm, p. 19. ¶. 4, 5, &c. his death on a surfeit, p. 24. ¶. 27. bred in Camb. Hist. of Camb. p. 2. ¶. 3.
- King HENRY** the second cometh to the Crown, b. 3. p. 30. ¶. 52. his character, 53. refineth the Common Law, & divideth England into Circuits, p. 31. ¶. 54. politickly demolisheth many Castles, ¶. 56. contesteth with Thomas Becket, p. 32, 33, &c. heavy penance for consenting to his death, p. 35. ¶. 68. afflicted with his undutifull Son Henry, p. 37. ¶. 1. the farve extent of the English Monarchy, p. 39. ¶. 6. dies unfortunate in his Family, p. 40. ¶. 7.
- King HENRY** the third under Tutors and Governors, b. 3. p. 54. ¶. 24. by what he so quickly recovered his Kingdome, ¶. 25. forbiddeth an appeal to the Pope for the triall of Bastardy, b. 3. p. 58, 59. troubled a long time with the animosities of his Subjects, p. 66. ¶. 33, &c. reformeth his faults, ¶. 38. his quiet death, p. 73. ¶. 1, 2.
- King HENRY** the fourth gaineth the Crown by deposing King Richard, b. 4. p. 152. ¶. 52, 53. bloody against poor Innocents, p. 155. ¶. 1. subjecteth Oxford (notwithstanding many Papal exemptions thereof) to the visitation of the Arch-bish. of Cant. p. 164, 165. his death, p. 166. ¶. 28.
- King HENRY** the fifth, whilest Prince, engaged himself in a bitter Petition, (with the Bishops) against the poor Lollards, b. 4. p. 162, 163. when king, the prelates (afraid of him, p. 166. ¶. 31.) divert

# I N D E X.

- divert his activity on the French, ¶. 32. his death.
- King HENRY the sixth his piety, b. 4. ¶. 1. foundeth Eaton Colledge, p. 183. loseth all in France, p. 184. ¶. 15, 16. foundeth Kings Coll. in Camb. Hist. of C. p. 73. conquered by K. Edward the 4. p. 190. ¶. 26. returneth out of Scotl. fighteth and is routed, ¶. 29. afterward enlarged out of prison and made King, p. 191. ¶. 31. re-imprisoned and murdered, p. 3. worketh many miracles after his death, p. (154.) ¶. 25. yet could be made a Saint by the Pope, and why. ¶. 27.
- King HENRY the seventh his sixfold title to the Crown, b. 4. p. 194. ¶. 15. his extraction, p. 200. ¶. 18. retrencheth the exorbitances of sanctuaries, ¶. 19. endeavoureth in vain to get King Henry the sixth Sainted, p. (153.) ¶. 23. and converteth a lollard and then burneth him, p. (155.) ¶. 31. foundeth the Savoy, b. 5. p. (165.) ¶. 4. his death, ibidem.
- King HENRY the eighth marrieth the relict of his Brother Arthur, b. 5. p. (165.) ¶. 6. writes against Luther, p. (168.) ¶. 21. therefore stiled Defender of the Faith, ¶. 22. embraceth the Motion to be divorced, p. (171.) ¶. 38. troubles before it could be effected, p. (172.) &c. owned supreme Head of the Church, p. 187. 48. justified in abolishing the Papal power in England, p. (194.) and (195.) his large Will, from p. 243. to 253. observations thereon, p. 252, 253. his disease and death, p. 254. ¶. 61. vices and vertues, 64. imperfect Monuments, 65.
- Prince HENRY his death, and excellent Epitaph, b. 10. p. 67. ¶. 22.
- HERBERT the simoniacal Bishop of Norwich, b. 3. p. 11. ¶. 33.
- Charles HERLE prolocutour in the Assembly, b. 11. p. 213. ¶. 53.
- HILDA the worthy Abbess, C. 7. ¶. 90, 93. a Miracle imputed unto her, ¶. 94.
- Arthur HILDERSHAM his remarkable life and death, b. 11. p. 142. ¶. 22, &c.
- John HILTON Priest solemnly abjureth his blasphemous heresies before Arch-bishop Whitgift in the Convocation, b. 9. p. 175. ¶. 27.
- Robert HOLCOT a great School-man his sudden death, C. 14. p. 98. ¶. 21.
- John HOLYMAN, Bishop of Bristol, no persecutor in the Reign of Q. Mary, b. 8. s. 2. ¶. 4.
- HOMILIES of two sorts, b. 9. p. 74. ¶. 60. their use, ¶. 62. authenticalnesse unjustly questioned, ¶. 63.
- Rich. HOOKER his character, b. 9. p. 214. ¶. 15. and p. 216. ¶. 53. claspeth with Mr. Travers about a point of Doct. and overpowereth him, ¶. 55, 56. &c. commended by his Adversaries for his holinesse, p. 217. ¶. 59. his death, p. 235. ¶. 40.
- John HOOPER, Bishop of Gloucester, the first founder of non-conformity in England, b. 7. p. 42, 43, 44. &c. much opposed by Bp. Ridley, ibid. till fire and fagots made them friends, p. 405. ¶. 29.
- Robert HORNE chosen Reader of Hebrew to the English Exiles at Frankford, b. 8. p. 31. ¶. 6. His contest with M. Ashley, ¶. 11, 12, 13. stickleth there for the Old discipline, ¶. 14, &c. chose a Disputant in the conference at Wetminster, b. 9. ¶. 10. consecrated Bishop of Winchester, ¶. 31. his sute against Bonner, p. 77. ¶. 1, 2, &c. superseded by a provisor in Parliament, ¶. 7. his death, p. 111. ¶. 32.
- Ancient HOSTLES in Cambridge before any Colledges therein were built or endowed, Hist. of Camb. p. 26, 27. though fewer, greater then those in Oxford, p. 27. ¶. 21, 22.
- Richard HUN martyr barbarously murdered, b. 5. p. (166.) ¶. 9.
- Mathew HUTTON Arch-bishop of Yorke, by his letter concurrereth with Lambeth Articles, b. 9. pag. 230. his death, b. 10. p. 38. ¶. 42. and memorie rectified from a foule mistake, ¶. 43.
- ## I.
- Sr. JAMES how mistaken to have preached in Britain, Cent. 1. ¶. 8.
- KING JAMES, b. 9. p. 5. ¶. 13. his speech at Hampton Court, p. 8. and discreet carriage therein, p. 9, 10, &c. writeth against the Pope, p. 45. ¶. 58 & against Vortius, p. 27. ¶. 5. his discourse with the legate, ¶. 7. happy in discovery of Impostors, p. 73. ¶. 56, 57. his Sicknesse, p. 113. ¶. 21. increased with a plaister, ¶. 23. his faith and Charity at his death ¶. 25. his peaceableness, Eloquence, piercing wit, Judgement, bounty and Mercy, p. 114. ¶. 27, 28. &c. His funerall Sermon preached by Bp. Williams, b. 11. pag. 117. ¶. 3.
- Doctor JAMES his good motion in the convocation at Oxford, b. 11. ¶. 12.
- Queen JANE SEYMOUR married to King Henry the eighth, b. 5. p. 208. ¶. 25. her letter on her delivery, to the Lords of the Councell, b. 6. p. 421. ¶. 11. her death, p. 422. ibidem.
- JESUATES how differing from JESUITES, b. 6. p. 278. ¶. 45.
- JESUITES their beginning just when other orders in England were dissolved, b. 6. p. 278. ¶. 43. best Butteresses in the Romish Church, p. 279. ¶. 56. their policie, ¶. 57. how in Engl. like the Astrologers in Rome, ¶. 58. their bitter contentions with Secular Priests, b. 9. p. 225, 226.
- JESUITESSES, a Viraginous Order, & (I think) extinct, b. 6. p. 364.
- JESUS COLL. IN CAMBRIDGE founded by Bp. Alcock, Hist. Camb. p. 84. ¶. 42, &c. called the Bp. of Ely's house, p. 84. ¶. 46. The Masters, Benefactors, Bishops, &c. thereof, p. 86.
- JESUS COLL. IN OXFORD founded by Hugh Price, b. 9. p. 96. ¶. 28. the Principalls, Bps. Benefactors, &c. thereof, ibidem.
- IMPROPRIATIONS endeavoured to be bought in by Feoffees, b. 11. p. 136. ¶. 5, 6. crushed by Archbishop Laud, p. 143. ¶. 26. &c. those in Ireland restored to the Clergie by the bounty of King Charles, b. 11. p. 149. ¶. 45.
- INNES of Bishops, or their severall Lodging-houses in London, b. 3. p. 63.
- INNOVATIONS in doctrine and discipline complained of, b. 11. p. 174, 175.
- JOHN JEWELL draweth up the Gratulatory letter of Oxford to Queen Mary, b. 8. ¶. 6. driven out of Corpus Christi Colledge, ¶. 11. his great fall, ¶. 15. seasonable and sincere recovery, ¶. 17. Vice-Master of P. Martyrs Colledge at Strasbourg, Sect. 3. ¶. 24. one of the disputants against the Papists at Wetminster, b. 9. ¶. 10. his reasons against the Council of Trent, ¶. 42. his death, and deserved praise, p. 101. ¶. 1, 2.
- JEWES first came over into England under William the Conquerour, b. 3. p. 9. ¶. 44. highly favoured by W. Rufus, ibid. had a chief Justicer over them, p. 84. ¶. 33. & a High priest or Presbyter, ¶. 35. their griping usurie, p. 85. ¶. 36. &c. unfortunate at Feast and Frayes, p. 86. ¶. 40. cruelly used by K. Henry the 3d. ¶. 43. Misdemeanours charged on them, p. 87. ¶. 46. cast out of the land



# I N D E X.

land by K. Edward the first, 47. though others say they craved leave to depart, *ibid.* &c.

**ILUTUS** abused by Monkish forgeries, C. 6. §. 8.

**IMAGE-WORSHIP** first sealed by Synod in England, C. 8. §. 9, 10. enjoined point-blank to poore people to practice it, b. 4. p. 150. §. 40.

**IN A King of the West-Saxons**, his Ecclesiasticall Laws, C. 7. §. 106. he giveth Peter-Pence to the Pope, C. 8. §. 13.

**INDEPENDENTS**: wide dissenting Brethren.

**Sr. Fra. INGLEFIELD** a Benefactor to the English Coll. at Valladolid, b. 9. p. 87. yet is all English Papist, p. 108. §. 20.

**St. JOHNS COLLEDGE** in Cambridge founded by the Lady Margaret, *Hist. of Camb.* p. 94. §. 11. the Masters, Bishops &c. thereof, p. 94. §. 95.

**St. JOHNS COLL.** Oxford founded by Sr. Tho. White, b. 8. S. 3. §. 44. The Presidents, Bishops, Benefactors, &c. thereof, §. 45.

**King JOHN** receives a present from the Pope, b. 3. p. 48. §. 4. returns him a stout answer, §. 5. for which the whole Kingdome is interdicted, p. 49. §. 6, 7, &c. his Innocency to the Pope in justice, §. 9. by whom he is excommunicated by name, §. 10. yet is blessed under his curses, §. 11. his submission to the Pope, p. 51. §. 13. resigning his Crown, which his unworthy Embassy to the King of Morocco, p. 53. §. 21. lamentable death, §. 22. and character, §. 23.

**JOSEPH of ARIMATHEA** said to be sent into Britain, C. 1. §. 11. his drossy History brought to the Touch, §. 12. severall places assigned for his burials, §. 14. the Oratours of Spain in the council of Basel, endeavour to disprove the whole story, b. 4. p. 180. §. 8. whose objections are easily answered, p. 181. §. 9.

**IRELAND** excludeth their own Articles, and receiveth the 39 Articles of England, b. 11. p. 149. §. 46.

**ITALIANS** had in England seventy thousand Marks a year of Ecclesiasticall revenues, b. 3. p. 65. §. 29. held the best livings and kept no Hospitality, b. 4. p. 128. §. 17.

**William JUXON** Bishop of London, made Lord Treasurer, b. 11. p. 150. §. 48. his commendable carriage, §. 49.

## K.

② **KATHARINE de Valois** disobeyeth her Husband, b. 4. p. 170. §. 46. therefore never buried, §. 47, 48.

② **KATHARINE** Dowager for politick ends married to King Henry the eighth, b. 5. p. (165.) §. 6. on what score the match was first scrupled by the King, p. (171.) §. 36, 37, &c. her Speech, p. (173.) her character and death, b. 5. p. 206. §. 19.

**KATHARINE HALL** founded by Robert Woodlark, *Hist. of Camb.* p. 83. §. 40. in strictnesse of Criticisme, may be termed *Aula bella*, §. 41.

**KEBY** a British Saint fixed in Anglesey, C. 4. §. 25.

**KENT**: the Saxons Kingdome therein when beginning, how bounded, C. 5. §. 17. first converted to Christianity by Augustine the Monk, b. 2. C. 6. §. 11. the Petition of the Ministers of Kent against subscription, b. 9. p. 144.

**KENULPHUS** King of the West-Saxons his Charter granted to the Abbey of Abbingdon, proving the power of Kings in that Age in Church matters, b. 2. p. 101. §. 25. notwithstanding Perions his objections to the contrary, §. 26. putteth down the Arch-bishoprick of Lichfield.

**KETTS** Robert and William their Rebellion, b. 7. p. 339. §. 2. their execution, p. 397. §. 15.

**THE KINGSEVILL**: a large discourse of the cause and cure thereof, C. 11. p. 145, 146, 147.

**John KING** Dean of Christ-Church, b. 5. p. (170.) present at Hampton-Court conference, b. 10. p. 7. when Bishop of London graveleth Legate the Arian, p. 62. §. 8. condemneth him for a Heretick, p. 63. §. 16. his cleare carriage in a cause of great consequence, p. 67. §. 24, 25. his death, p. 90. §. 31. and eminencies in defiance of Popish falshood, §. 32. 33.

**Henry KING** made Bishop of Chichester, b. 11. p. 194.

**KINGS HALL** built by King Edward the third, *Hist. of Camb.* p. 39. §. 46. three eminencies thereof, §. 47.

**KINGS COLLEDGE** founded by K. Henry the sixth, *Hist. of Camb.* p. 73.

**John KNEWSTUBS** minister of Cockfield in Suffolk, b. 9. p. 135. §. 16. a meeting of Presbyterians at his house, *ibid.* against conformities at Hampton-Court conference, b. 10. p. 7. his exceptions propounded, p. 16. and 17. shrewdly checked by King James, p. 20. a Benefactor to Saint Johns Colledge, *Hist. of Camb.* p. 95. §. 15.

**KNIGHTS** of the Garter their Institution, qualifications, habillments, Oath and orders by them observed, how their places become vacant, b. 3. p. 116.

**KNIGHTS** anciently made by Abbots, b. 3. p. 17. 18. untill it was forbidden by Canon, *ibid.*

**Mr. KNOT** the Jesuit, his causelesse Cavills at Mr. Sutton confuted, b. 10. p. 65. §. 17, &c.

**John KNOX** chosen their minister by the English Exiles at Frankford, b. 8. S. 3. §. 1. opposed in his discipline by Dr. Cox, §. 3, 4. accused for treacherous speeches against the Emperour, §. 5. forced to depart Frankford to the great grief of his party, *ibid.*

## L.

**Arthur LAKE** Bishop of Bath and Wells, his death and character, b. 11. §. 45.

**LAMBETH** Articles by whom made, b. 9. p. 229. §. 23. nine in number, p. 230. various judgements of them, p. 231. §. 24, &c.

**LANCASTER** and York houses the Battels betwixt them for the Crown; Place, Time, number slain, and Conquerour, b. 4. p. 186, and 187.

**LANCK-FRANCK** made Arch-bishop of Canterbury, b. 3. §. 4. most kindly treated by the Pope, §. 17. to whom he accuseth Thomas elect of York, and Remigus elect of Lincoln, §. 18, 19. his return and imployment, §. 20.

**Hugh LATIMER** a violent Papist, *History of Cambridge*, p. 102. §. 33. converted by Bilney, §. 34. his Sermon of Cards, p. 103. §. 38. preacheth before the Convocation, b. 5. p. 207. §. 23. deprived of his Bishoprick of Worcester, p. 231. §. 18. why he assumed it not again in the Reign of King Edward the sixth, b. 7. p. 405. §. 28. his judgement of the containners of common prayer, p. 426. §. 17.

**William LAUD** made Bishop of St. Davids, b. 9. p. 90. §. 30. a great Benefactor to St. Johns in Oxford, b. 8. p. 40. §. 45. accused by the Scotch for making their Liturgy, b. 11. p. 163. prepares for his death, b. 11. p. 215. §. 68. his Funerall speech and burial, p. 216. §. 69, 70. his birth, breeding and character, p. 216, 217, 218, 219.

**LAURENTIUS** Arch-bishop of Cant. reconcilith the British to the Romish Church in the Celebration of Easter, C. 7. §. 27. intending to depart England is rebuked in a vision, §. 34, 35.

# I N D E X.

- LECHLADE** or **LATINELADE**, a place where Latine was anciently taught, Cent. 9. ¶ 30.
- Thomas **LEE** or **LEAH** a prime Officer imploied in the dissolution of Abbeyes, *Hist. of Ab.* 314. visiteth the University of Camb. *Hist. Cam.* of p. 109. ¶ 55. his injunctions to the University, *ibidem*.
- Barthol. **LEGATE** burnt for an Atrian, b. 10. p. 62. ¶ 6, 7, 8. &c.
- Dr. **LEIGHTON** his railing book severely censured, b. 11. p. 136. ¶ 3. recovered after his escape and punished, ¶ 4.
- The first **LENT** kept in England, C. 7. ¶ 74.
- Jo. **LEYLAND** an excellent Antiquary fellow of Christs Coll. *Hist. of Cam.* p. 90. ¶ 7. wronged in his works by Polydore Virgil and another namelesse Plagiary, b. 5. p. (198) ¶ 54. imploied by King Henry 8. to collect and preserve Rarities at the dissolution of Abbeyes, b. 6. p. 339. ¶ 8. died distressed, ¶ 9.
- LICHFIELD** bestrewed with the dead bodies of Martyrs, C. 4. ¶ 8. made the See of an Arch-bishop by King Offa, b. 2. p. 104. ¶ 34. the builders of the present (almost past) Cathedral, b. 4. p. 174. the praise, and picture thereof, p. 175.
- LIEGE** Coll. in Lukeland for English fugitives, b. 9. p. 91.
- William **LILLY** the first Schoolmaster of Paul's, b. 5. p. (167) ¶ 17. the many Editions of his Grammar, p. (168.) ¶ 18.
- LISBON** a rich Nunhery for Engl. Bridgittines, b. 6. p. 262. ¶ 5, 6. &c.
- LITURGIE** an uniformity thereof when prescribed all over England, b. 7. p. 386. three severall editions thereof with the persons employed therein, *ibid.* Bishop Latimer his judgement against the contemners thereof, p. 426.
- LONDON**, why so called, C. 1. ¶ 2. layeth claime to the birth of Constantine the Emperour, C. 4. ¶ 18. the walls thereof built with Jewish stones, b. 3. p. 86. ¶ 42. the honourable occasion of an Augmentation in their Armes, b. 4. p. 141. ¶ 21.
- William **LONGCAMPE** Bp. of Ely, his pride, b. 3. p. 43. ¶ 24. his parallell with Cardinal Wolsey, ¶ 28. &c.
- LOVAINE** Colledge in Brabant, for English fugitives, b. 9. p. 90. a nunhery (or rather but halfe a one) therein for Engl. women, b. 6. p. 364. ¶ 2.
- LINCOLN** Coll. in Oxford founded by Richard Fleming, b. 4. p. 168. the Rectors, Bps. &c. thereof, p. 169.
- William **LINWOOD** writeth his Provincial constitutions, his due praise, b. 4. page 175. ¶ 71. &c.
- LUCIUS**, the different dates of his conversion, C. 2. ¶ 1. do not disprove the substance of his story, ¶ 3. might be a British King under the Romans, ¶ 4. severall Churches in Britain said to be erected by him, ¶ 13. confounded by unvary writers with Lucius a German preacher in Suevia, ¶ 14. said to be buried in Gloucester, with his Dunsticall Epitaph, C. 3. ¶ 1.
- LUPUS** assisteth Germanus in his voyage into Britain to suppress Pelagianisme, C. 3. ¶ 4.
- M
- MADRID** Coll. in Spain for English fugitives, b. 9. p. 90.
- MAGDALEN** Coll. in Ox. founded by William Wainfleet, b. 4. p. 188. ¶ 24. scarce a Bp. in England to which it hath not afforded one prelate, ¶ 25. sad alterations therein by the Visitors in the first of Mary, b. 8. ¶ 8. the character of this Coll. with the violence of rigid non-conformists therein presented in a latine letter of Mr. Fox, b. 9. p. 106. ¶ 14, 15.
- MAGDALEN** Colledge in Cambridge founded by Thomas Lord Audley, *History of Cambridge*, p. 120. ¶ 8. &c.
- MALIGNANT** whence derived, and first fixed as a name of disgrace on the Royall party, b. 11. p. 195. ¶ 32.
- Roger **MANWARING** charged by Mr. Pym in Parliament, b. 11. ¶ 61. for two Sermons preached, *ibidem*. his censure, ¶ 62. and submission, ¶ 63.
- MARRIAGE** of the Priests proved lawfull, b. 3. p. 20, 21, 22, 23.
- MARRIAGE** of a Brothers Wife is against Gods Word, and above Papal dispensations, b. 5. p. (179.) (180.) (181.)
- Tho. **MARKANT** Proctor of Cambridge made and gave a rare Book of her priviledges to the university which was lost, found, lost, found, lost, *Hist. of Canb.* p. 65. ¶ 33, 34.
- Q. **MARY** quickly recovereth the Crown in right of succession, b. 8. ¶ 1. in her first Parliament restoreth Popery to the height, ¶ 20, 21. makes a speech in Guild-Hall, ¶ 30. her character, S. 2. ¶ 34. valiant against the Pope in one particular, S. 3. ¶ 41. very Melancholy with the causes thereof, ¶ 46, 47. dyes of a Dropsey, ¶ 48. two Sermons preached at her funerall, ¶ 52. her deserved praise, ¶ 53. for refounding the Savoy, ¶ 54. her buriall, ¶ 55.
- MARY** Queen of Scots flies into England and is there imprisoned, b. 9. S. 2. ¶ 13. her humble letter to Pope Pius the fifth, *ibidem*. her second letter unto him, b. 9. p. 99. her death, Poetry, buriall, removal to Wextminster, and [wel-Latined] Epitaph, p. 181.
- Queen **MARY**, Wife to King Charles, her first landing at Dover, b. 11. ¶ 9. delivered of a Son by a fright before her time, b. 11. p. 135. ¶ 1.
- Toby **MATTHEW** Arch-bishop of York dying yearly dyes at last, b. 11. ¶ 74. his gratitude to God, ¶ 75.
- MAUD** for four descents the name of the Queens of England, b. 7. p. 25. ¶ 28.
- MAXIMUS** usurpeth the Empire and expelleth the Scots out of Britain, C. 4. ¶ 22. drainerh the Flower of the British Nation into France, ¶ 23. slain in Italy, ¶ 24. his memory why inveighed against, *ibidem*.
- Mr. **MAYNARD** his learned speech against the late Canons, b. 11. p. 180. ¶ 77.
- MEDIUNUS** sent by King Lucius to Eleutherius Bishop of Rome, C. 2. ¶ 5.
- MEDESHAMSTED** Monastery burnt by the Danes, C. 9. ¶ 20.
- MELLITUS** Bishop of London converteth the Kingdome of Essex, C. 7. ¶ 23. departeth England, and why, ¶ 33. returneth, ¶ 35. and is rejected at London, 36. his character, 37.
- MERCIA** a Saxon Kingdome when begun, how bounded, C. 5. ¶ 17. converted to Christianity, under Prince Peada, C. 7. ¶ 83.
- Thomes **MERKES** Bishop of Carlile his bold speech in the behalf of King Richard the second, b. 4. p. 153. ¶ 55. tried for Treason not by his Peers, but a Common Jury, p. 154. ¶ 57, 58. his life spared and he made: Bishop of Samos in Greece, ¶ 59.

MER-



# I N D E X.

- MERLIN** two of the names, C. 5. ¶. 20. his magi-  
call Pranks, ¶. 26. questionable whether ever such  
a man, ¶. 32. fitted with two other fowles of the  
same Feather, *ibidem*.
- MERTON** Coll. in Oxford founded by Walter  
Merton, b. 9. p. 75. ¶. 7, &c. Wardens, Bishops, Be-  
nefactours, and thereof, ¶. 8. a by-foundation of  
Post-masters therein, p. 76. happy in breeding  
Schoolmen, p. 99. ¶. 27. a petty rebellion therein  
supprest by Arch-bishop Parker, b. 9. p. 71. ¶. 47,  
48. not founded before Peter-houle in Cambridge,  
*Hist. of Camb.* p. 32. ¶. 33, &c.
- Sr. Walter **MILDMAY** fourth Emanuel Col-  
ledge, *H. St. of Cam.* p. 146. ¶. 11, 12. &c.
- The **MILLENARIE** petition, b. 10. p. 22. the  
issue thereof, p. 23. ¶. 25, 26. the Millenarie is equi-  
vocall, p. 24.
- MINSHULLS** their honourable Armes archie-  
ved in the Holy War, b. 3. p. 42. ¶. 19.
- MIRACLES** their Description, b. 6 p. 329. ¶. 1.  
long since ceased, p. 330. ¶. 2. and why, ¶. 5. yet  
counterfeited by the Papists, ¶. 7. &c.
- The Lord **MOHUN** his memorable patent, made  
therein by the Pope a Count Apostolical, b. 3. p. 64.
- John **MOLLE** his birth and breeding, b. 10. p. 48.  
¶. 7. his sad dilemma, ¶. 8. constancy and death in  
the Inquisition, ¶. 9, 10.
- MONKES**, their primitive piety and painfullness,  
b. 6. p. 263. ¶. 1, 2. &c. afterwards voluntarie, not  
for necessity but convenience, p. 264. ¶. 1, 2.
- MONUMENTS** in Churches, Q. Elizab. procla-  
mations (each Copie signed with her own hand) a-  
gainst the defacers of them, b. 9. p. 65. ¶. 36.
- Sr. Thomas **MOORE** his praise and dispraise, b. 5.  
p. 205. ¶. 16, 17. &c.
- Sr. Ed. **MONTAGUE**, threatened by the Duke  
of Northumberland, draws up the Testament of  
King Edward the sixth to disinherit his Sisters, b. 8.  
¶. 2. his great sufferings for the same, *ibidem*.
- James **MONTAGUE** Bp. of Winchester his death,  
b. 10. p. 86. ¶. 8. a memorable accident thereat, ¶. 9.  
*see* Sidney Colledge.
- Richard **MONTAGUE** his character, b. 11. ¶. 7.  
8. rescued by the King from the house of commons,  
¶. 10. written against by severall Authours, ¶. 14.  
left to defend himself, ¶. 15. made Bishop of Chi-  
chester, ¶. 67. his confirmation opposed, ¶. 68, 69.  
his death, p. 194. ¶. 22.
- MORRIS** Bishop of Rochester a great persecu-  
tor, b. 8. S. 2. ¶. 10.
- MORTMAIN** statute, b. 3. p. 77. ¶. 9. the cause  
thereof, ¶. 10. not a new, but renewed Law, ¶. 11.  
Sr. Hierom and Ambrose angry thereat, ¶. 12. the  
form of the statute, ¶. 13.
- John **MORTON** Bishop of Ely the Make-peace  
betwixt Lancaster and York, b. 4. p. 198. ¶. 11. de-  
fended against Mr. Plin, ¶. 12. made Archbishop  
of Canter. p. 194. ¶. 17. his death, p. 165.
- Thomas **MORTON**, since Bp. of Durham Fellow of  
Chelsey Coll. b. 10. p. 52. erecteth a Tomb to Ca-  
saubon, p. 70. ¶. 38. detecteth the Imposture of the  
Boy of Billon, p. 73. ¶. 55.
- MORTUARY**, when, by whom, and to whom to  
be paid, b. 3. p. 83. ¶. 27.
- N.**
- The **NAGGS** head consecration of Matthew Parker  
largely confuted, b. 9. p. 61. ¶. 27, &c. The small  
reason of so great report, p. 62. ¶. 30.
- Humphrey **NECTON** (not absolutely the first Do-  
ctour who commenced in Cambridge, but) first Car-  
melite who commenced Dr. therein, *Hist. of Camb.*  
p. 20. ¶. 5, 6, &c.
- Hugh **NEVIL** slew a Lion in the holy Land, b. 3.  
p. 41. ¶. 10. Benefactour to Waltham Abbey, ¶. 11.  
buried therein, *Hist. of Waltham*.
- Ralph **NEVIL** most triumphant in his issue of any  
English subject, b. 6. p. 297. ¶. 3. made three of  
his daughters Nuns, *ibidem*.
- George **NEVIL** Arch bishop of York, b. 4. p. 191.  
¶. 31. his prodigious Feast, p. 193. ¶. 38. after-  
wards it avved to death, ¶. 39.
- Rich. **NEVIL** the make-King, Earle of Warwick,  
b. 4. p. 190. ¶. 6. on distaste given him, ¶. 30. con-  
quereth and imprisoneth King Edward the fourth,  
by whom at last he is overcome and slain, p. 191.  
¶. 33.
- Charles **NEVIL** Earle of Westmerland, routed in  
his rebellion against Queen Elizabeth, b. 9. ¶. 15,  
16, &c.
- Tho. **NEVIL** the most magnificent master, and Be-  
nefactour of Trinity Colledge, *Hist. of Cambridge*,  
p. 122. ¶. 19.
- NICE**: some British Bishops present at the generall  
Council kept therein, C. 4. ¶. 20.
- Henry **NICHOLAS** the founder of the Fami-  
lists, b. 9. p. 112. ¶. 37. his Mock-Apostolick-  
stile, ¶. 38.
- NON-CONFORMISTS** their beginning in  
the Reign of King Edward the sixth, b. 7. p. 402.  
¶. 24. Mr. Hooper and Mr. Rogers their first  
Champions, *ibidem*. their arguments since not so  
much increased as more enforced, p. 404. their pra-  
ctise fomented by the English Exiles at Frankford,  
b. 8. S. 2. ¶. 33. especially after the coming of  
Mr. Knox thither, S. 3. ¶. 1. and Mr. Calvins let-  
ter, ¶. 2. William Whittingham head of that party,  
¶. 7. which in discontent depart to Geneva, ¶. 10.  
their Persons and opinions return into England,  
b. 9. ¶. 3. divided into moderate and fierce Non-  
conformists, ¶. 68. when their first Set was expired  
a worse succeeded, p. 81. ¶. 9, &c.
- The **NORTHERN** rebellion, b. 6. p. 313. ¶. 1.  
the Northern Gentry routed therein, ¶. 6.
- NORTHUMBERLAND** a Saxon Kingdome  
when begun, how bounded, C. 5. ¶. 17. afterward  
subdivided into two Kingdomes of Bernicia and  
Deira, C. 7. ¶. 61.
- NORWICH** described, b. 7. p. 393. ¶. 4. yieldeth  
to the rebells, p. 294. ¶. 6. seasonably relieved,  
p. 396. ¶. 14. unjustly taxed with disloyalty, *ibid*.
- Alex. **NOWEL** saved from Bonners cruelty by  
Mr. Francis Bowyer, b. 8. p. 16. dedicat. Epist.  
prolocutor in the convocation, 1563. when the Ar-  
ticles were made, b. 9. ¶. 51. consisting of Holy  
Riddles, b. 9. ¶. 10. his death, *ibidem*.
- O.**
- OATH** taken by English fugitives, when admitted  
in forrain Colledges, b. 9. p. 92. of obedience im-  
posed on all Papists, b. 10. p. 42. another taken by  
the Divines at the Synod of Dort at their admis-  
sion, p. 78. ¶. 66. another made in the late Canons  
with an &c. in the midst thereof, b. 11. p. 169.  
¶. 20.
- OATH** ex officio, arguments against and for it,  
b. 9. p. 183, 184, &c. a fourfold behaviour of Non-  
conformists in refusing it, p. 186.
- OBITS** what they were, and how performed: six  
kept in Waltham Church, this charge-2. shillings  
6. pence a piece, *Hist. of Waltham*, p. 14.
- William **OCCAM** Luther his School man, C. 17.  
p. 98. ¶. 21.

# I N D E X.

**OFFA** King of Mercia maketh Lichfield the see of an Arch-bishop, C. 8. ¶. 34. inshrinerh the body of St. Alban, ¶. 35. goeth to Rome, and giveth Peter-Pence to the Pope, C. 8. ¶. 36, 37. buried at Bedford, ¶. 38.

**St. John OLDCASTLE** his opinions, b. 4. p. 167. his guiltiness examined, p. 168. left doubtfull to Divine decision, ibid.

**Barnabas OLY** a worthy instrument in re-edifying Clare Hall ejected for refusing the Covenant, Hist. of Camb. p. 38. ¶. 45.

**St. OMERS** Coll. in Artois, for English fugitives, b. 9. p. 89.

**OBSERVANT** Friars being Franciscans, refused, b. 6. p. 271. ¶. 17. the first order totally and finally suppressed by King Henry 8. p. 308. ¶. 1, 2. set up for a short time by Q. Mary, p. 357.

**ORDALL**, or the triall by fire of suspected persons, the manner thereof, C. 11. ¶. 14.

**ORIAL** COLL. in Oxford, b. 3. p. 103, 104.

**Lambert OSBASTON** his riddling letter to Bishop Williams, b. 11. p. 165. ¶. 1. censured in the Star-Chamber, p. 166. ¶. 9. restored by Parliament, p. 172. ¶. 33.

**OSWALD** the Christian King of Northumberland, his miraculous Victory in Heafenfield, C. 7. ¶. 63. sendeth for preachers out of Scotland, ¶. 69. is interpreter to Bishop Aidan, ¶. 73. slain in fight by Penda the Pagan, ¶. 75. his hands said never to putrify, ¶. 76. in what sense it is true, ¶. 77. presently possessed of happiness, ¶. 78. yet his soul prayed for by the superstition of that Age, ibidem.

**OSWAY** the most Christian King of Northumberland, C. 7. ¶. 80.

**OTHO** the Popes Legate lodgeth in Oxford, b. 3. p. 61. ¶. 12. his brother killed, ¶. 13. and 14. himself pursued by the Scholars, p. 62. ¶. 15. whereupon he interdicteth the university, ¶. 17. but at the Bishops intercession, ¶. 19. and the Scholars solemn penance, ¶. 20. he is reconciled, ibidem.

**John OVERALL** carryeth the Kings Professours place from Mr. Wotton, Hist. of Camb. p. 125. ¶. 20. Dean of St. Pauls, b. 10. p. 7. gives King James an account of Lambeth Articles, p. 13. his death, p. 86. ¶. 10.

**OXFORD** University (if not founded) restored by King Alfred, C. 9. ¶. 30. the Armes of the University, ¶. 40. the Scholars there of harshly used by King William the Conquerour, b. 3. p. 6. ¶. 16. killed the brother of Otho the Popes Legate, p. 61. ¶. 13. for which he interdicteth the University, p. 62. ¶. 17. till the Scholars make their solemn submission, ¶. 20. the great and suddain alterations therein in the Reign of Q. Mary, b. 8. p. 7, 8, 9. a strange Mortality Anno 1577. at the Assizes, b. 9. p. 109. ¶. 22. counted by aunders a great miracle, ¶. 24. though a natural cause be assigned thereof, ¶. 25. discontents therein about innovations, b. 11. p. 141. ¶. 18, &c.

## P.

**APALL** what it is, with the mysteries thereof, C. 7. ¶. 38.

**PANDULPHUS** his proud carriage, b. 3. p. 53. ¶. 22.

**Katharine PAR** married to King Henry the eighth, b. 3. p. 243. ¶. 48. her enemies conspiracie against her, defeated by Gods providence, ¶. 49, 50. the form of publick prayer for her, b. 7. p. 374. a letter of Edward the sixth (while Prince) unto her, p. 423, 424.

**PARISHES** in England first divided by Pope Honorius, c. 7. ¶. 68.

**Matthew PARKER** almost loseth his own life to convert the Rebels, b. 7. p. 394. ¶. 7. made Archb. of Cant. b. 9. p. 60. ¶. 23. most legally consecrated, ¶. 25, &c. in defiance of all Popish Calumnies, ibidem. his death, p. 108. ¶. 17. and defence against Mr. Prin, ¶. 18. see Bennet Coll.

**Margaret PARKER** the Arch-bishop his exemplary Wife, b. 9. p. 108. ¶. 19.

**St. PATER** a pattern for all Bishops, C. 6. ¶. 10.

**St. PATRICK** fully reported living and dying at Glaffenbury, C. 5. ¶. 18, 19, 20. a distinct person from Sen Patrick, ¶. 20.

**St. PAUL** by a Poeticall Hyperbole onely, made to preach in Britain, C. 1. ¶. 8.

**PAULINUS** his death, C. 7. ¶. 79.

**The PAX** what it was and the original thereof, Hist. of Walt. p. 17. in the third Item.

**PEADA** first Christian Prince of Mercia, C. 7. ¶. 83.

**PELAGIUS** a Britan by birth, C. 5. ¶. 1. his principal Errors, ¶. 3. condemned by many Councils under the name of his Scholar Caelestius, ibid.

**PEMBROOK HALL** in Cambridge founded by Mary de St. Paul, Hist. of Camb. p. 41.

**PEMBROOK** Colledge in Oxford founded, b. 11. ¶. 41, 42.

**John PENRY** with others executed for libelling against the Bishops, b. 9. p. 223. ¶. 6.

**Rob. PERSONS** Jesuit cometh over into England, b. 9. p. 114. ¶. 41. his three strange escapes, p. 118. ¶. 44, 45. returns to Rome, ¶. 46. Master of the English Colledge there, p. 86. the Secular priests bitterly complain of him, p. 233. ¶. 30.

**St. PETER**: he never preached in Britain (notwithstanding Persons his arguments to the contrary,) C. 1. ¶. 7.

**PETER-Pence** first granted to the Pope by King Ina, C. 8. ¶. 13. amounting at least to seven thousand five hundred pounds per ann. b. 5. p. (197.) ¶. 46, 47.

**PETER-HOUSE** founded by Hugo Balsham Subprior of Ely, Hist. of Camb. p. 12. ¶. 44. endowed many years after, by the same Hugo when Bishop of Ely, p. 30, 31, 32, 33.

**St. PETROCK** captain of the Cornish Saints, C. 6. ¶. 11.

**J. PHILPOT** stoutly defendeth the truth in the convocation, b. 8. ¶. 22. against railing Weston, ¶. 23. sealeth it with his bloods, ¶. 24.

**John PIERCE** Arch-bishop of York his death, and commendation for exemplary temperance, b. 9. p. 223. ¶. 9.

**Thomas PIERCY** Earle of Northumberland, his Rebellion against Q. Elizabeth, b. 9. p. 83. ¶. 15. in maintenance of Popery, ¶. 16. routed by the Queens forces, ¶. 17. beheaded at York, ¶. 19.

**James PILKINTON**: the false report of ten thousand pound given with his daughter, b. 5. p. 253. ¶. 55. the truth thereof, b. 9. p. 109. ¶. 21. his death, ibidem.

**Pope PIUS** the fourth his letter and proposalls to Q. Elizabeth, b. 9. p. 68. ¶. 40.

**Pope PIUS** the fifth his sentence declaratory against Q. Elizabeth, b. 9. p. 93.

**PLAYERS** prohibited by proclamation of King Edward the sixth, b. 7. p. 391.

**Thomas PLAYFER** his ranting Epitaph, Hist. of Camb. p. 158. ¶. 40.

**PLEGMUND** of an eminent Eremita made Arch-bishop of Canterbury, C. 9. ¶. 43. consecrateth seven Bishops in one day, C. 10. ¶. 4.

PLUN-



# I N D E X.

**PLUNDER** whence derived, and when first used in England, b. 11. p. 196. ¶ 33.

**Reg. POOLE** Cardinal, why so much favoured by Q. Mary, b. 8. ¶ 39. Godfather to E. Tremelius, ¶ 40. consecrated Archb. of Cant. ¶ 41. his dry Sermon of the Pall, ibid. reconcileth England unto Rome, ¶ 42. his death, b. 8. S. 3. ¶ 49. well inclined to be a Protestant, ¶ 50. leaveth all his estate to Italians, § 1. Chancellor both of Cambridge and Oxford, *Hist. of Camb.* p. 135. ¶ 53.

**Sr. Tho. POPE** vide Trinity Colledge Oxford.

**The POPE** in England in his Rising, improverh his power on five sorts of Princes, C. 10. ¶ 2.

**The POPE** in England in his Reigning: a conjectural estimate of his yearly revenues in England, b. 5. p. (197.)

**The POPE** in England in his Ruine: how his usurped power, at the abolition thereof, was restored to several persons to whom it did belong, b. 5. ¶ 199.

**All PREACHERS** (for a time) inhibited by a Proclamation of King Edward the sixth, b. 7. p. 388, 389.

**PREMUNIRE**-statute why made, b. 4. p. 145. the form thereof, p. 146, &c. why so named, p. 148. ¶ 35.

**Thomas PRESTON** (Master of Trinity Hall) Queen Elizabeth her Scholar, *History of Camb.* p. 139. ¶ 2.

**John PRESTON** his great favour at Court, b. 11. ¶ 6. employed in a double conference, ¶ 35, 36. temporizeth with the Duke of Buckingham, ¶ 43, 44. his death and buriall, ¶ 66.

**William PRIN**, b. 11. p. 152. ¶ 56. accused for libelling against Bishops, ¶ 57. his plea rejected, p. 152. ¶ 62. and answer refused, ¶ 63. his speech on the Pillory, ¶ 73. and behaviour therein, ¶ 74. good employment in his exile, 75. brought back with triumph, p. 172. ¶ 32.

**Falſe PROPHECYES** a great trade driven with them in Abbeys, *Hist. of Abb.* p. 333. ¶ 11.

**PROPHECYINGS** in England how ordered, b. 9. p. 121. ¶ 2. their inconveniences, p. 122. ¶ 3. Arch-bishop Grindal his large letter to Q. Elizab. in their defence, p. 123, &c.

**PROVISIONS** of the Pope their nature, b. 3. p. 8. and b. 4. p. 115. ¶ 25. redressed by a statute, ¶ 26. yet complained of many years after, p. 147. ¶ 43.

**P SALMS** of David by whom translated into English meeter, b. 7. p. 406. ¶ 31. the mean doing thereof endeavoured to be defended, ¶ 32.

**PURGATORY** not held in the Popish notion before the Conquest, b. 2. p. how maintained in the Mungrell Religion under King Henry the eighth, b. 5. p. 223. a merry Vision thereof, b. 4. p. 107.

**PURITANS**: when the word first began in that odious sense, b. 9. ¶ 67. vide Non-conformists. The Arch-bishop of Spalato, the first who abused the word to signifie the Defenders of matters Doctrinall. Conformable Puritans by whom complained of, b. 11. p. 144. ¶ 31.

## Q.

**QUEENS COLL.** in Oxford founded by R. Eglesfield, b. 3. p. 114, 115.

**QUEENS COLL.** in Cambridge founded by Q. Margaret, *History of Cambridge*, p. 80. ¶ 31. finished by Q. Elizabeth wife to King Edward the fourth, ¶ 33. The Masters, Benefactors, Bishops, ibidem.

## R.

**READING**, a pleasant story between the Abbot thereof, and King Henry the eighth, b. 6 p. 297. ¶ 12, 13.

**RECUSANTS** for Papists when the name in England first began, b. 9. p. 98. ¶ 29.

**Our REFORMATION** under King Henry the eighth cleared from the aspersions of Schism, b. 5. p. (194.) and 195.)

**William REGINALD**, or Reinolds, a zealous Papist, his death and character, b. 9. p. 224. ¶ 12.

**John REINOLDS** against Conformity in Hampton-Court conference, b. 10. p. 7, 8, 9, &c. his death, p. 47. ¶ 3. admirable parts and piety, p. 48. ¶ 5. desireth absolution at his death, ¶ 6.

**RELICTS** their abominable superstition, and Forgery, b. 6. p. 331. ¶ 10, 11, &c.

**RENT-CORN** by statute reserved to Colledges, *History of Cambridge*, p. 144. ¶ 6. procured by Sr. Tho. Smith, ¶ 7. to the great profit of both Universities, ¶ 8.

**R. Lord RICH** his servants sad mistake, b. 7. p. 408. ¶ 40. which cost his master the losse of his Chancellours place, ¶ 41.

**King RICHARD** the first endeavoureth to expiate his unadvisfulnesse by superstition, b. 3. p. 40. ¶ 8. dearly ransomed, p. 44. ¶ 28, 29. made better by affliction, p. 45. ¶ 30. his death, burial, and Epitaph, ¶ 32, &c.

**King RICHARD** the second, b. 4. p. 137. ¶ 12. his loose life, p. 152. ¶ 51. conspired against by Duke Henry, ¶ 52. forced to depose himself or be deposed, p. 153. ¶ 53. his death, ibid.

**King RICHARD** the third his pompous double Coronation, b. 4. p. (196.) ¶ 4. barbarously murdered his brother's Sons, ¶ 5. endeavoureth in vain to be Popular, p. (197.) ¶ 6, and 7. unjustly commended by a Modern Writer, ¶ 8. beaten and killed in the Battel of Bosworth, p. 194. ¶ 14.

**RIPPON** Collegiat Church endowed by King James, b. 10. p. 29. ¶ 16. their Land since twice sold, ¶ 17.

**John ROGERS** prime Patron of Non-conformity, b. 7. p. 402. martyred, b. 8. p. 23. ¶ 32.

**Thomas ROGERS** writeth on the Articles of the Church of England, b. 9. p. 172. ¶ 22. first opposeth the opinion of the Sabbatarians bitterly enough, p. 228. ¶ 22.

**ROME COLLEDGE** for English fugitives, b. 9. p. 86.

**The ROODE** what is was, and why placed betwixt the Church and Chancell. *History of Walt.* p. 16. in the first item.

## S.

**The SABBATH**: the strict keeping thereof revived by Doctour Bound, b. 9. p. 227. ¶ 20. learned men divided therein, p. 228. ¶ 21, &c. liberty given thereon by King James his Proclamation in Lancashire, b. 10. p. 74. ¶ 58, 59. reasons pro and con whether the same might lawfully be read, p. 74. ¶ 56. ministers more frighted then hurt therein, p. 76. ¶ 62. no reading of it enforced on them, ibidem. controversie revived in the Reign of King Charles, b. 11. p. 144. ¶ 13, &c.

**SAINTS** Numerous and noble amongst the Saxons C. 8. ¶ 6. ridiculouslly assigned by Papists to the Curing of sundry diseases, and patronage of sundry professions, b. 6. p. 33. ¶ 13.

SAMPSON

# I N D E X.

- SAMPSON**, an ancient British Bishop, made line  
Titulo, C. 6. ¶ 9.
- Thomas **SAMPSON** Dean of Christ-Church in  
Oxford, the first that I find ouied his place for Pu-  
ritanisme, b. 9. p. 77. ¶ 72.
- Edwin **SANDYS** Bishop of Worcester, b. 9. p. 63.  
¶ 31. Arch-bishop of York: his death, p. 197.  
¶ 25. his Sermon before the Duke of Northumber-  
land at Cambridge, Hist. of Camb. p. 131. ¶ 40.  
his ill usage for the same, ¶ 43.
- SARDIS**: some representation of the British at the  
Generall Council kept therein, C. 4. ¶ 20.
- SARUM**, secundum utrum thereof its originall and oc-  
casion, b. 3. ¶ 23.
- William **SAWTREE**, b. 4. p. 156. Articles a-  
gainst him, ibidem. degraded, p. 157. ¶ 5. and the  
first man burnt for his Religion, p. 158.
- SAXONS**, the first mention of them in Brit. C. 5. ¶ 9.  
unadvisedly invited over by King Vortiger, ¶ 16.  
erect seven Kingdomes in Britain, ¶ 17. The rab-  
ble of their Idols, C. 6. ¶ 6. willfully accessorie  
to their own ruine by the Danes, C. 9. ¶ 17.
- SCHISME** unjustly charged on the English Church  
in their Reformation, and returned on Rome, b. 5.  
p. (194.) and (195.)
- SCHOOL-MEN**: nine eminent, all of England,  
most of Merton Colledge, C. 14. p. 94, 95. their  
needlesse difficulties, p. 98. ¶ 24. barbarous Latines,  
¶ 25. divisions in judgement, ¶ 26. why their  
Learning lesse used in after ages, ¶ 28.
- SCOTLAND** challenged by the Pope, as his pe-  
ccular, C. 14. ¶ 1. stoutly denied by the English, ¶ 2.
- SCOTCH** Liturgies, the whole story thereof, b. 11.  
p. 160. ¶ 95, &c.
- John **SCOTUS** Erigena his birth-place, C. 9. ¶ 32,  
33, 34. miserably martyred by his Scholars,  
¶ 35. unmartyred by Baronius, ¶ 36. causlessly  
confounded with Duns Scotus, ¶ 37.
- John **DUNS SCOTUS** why so called, C. 14.  
p. 96. ¶ 19. his birth claimed by three Kingdomes,  
ibidem.
- SEATER** a Saxon Idol, his shape and Office, b. 2.  
C. 6. ¶ 6.
- SECULAR** Priests their contesting with Monks,  
C. 8. p. 133. ¶ 14.
- John **SELDEN** setteth forth his Book against  
Tithes, b. 10. p. 70. ¶ 39, 40. puzzeth the Assem-  
bly of Divines with his queries, b. 11. p. 213. ¶ 54.
- Richard **SENHOUSE** preacheth King Charles  
his Coronation, and his own funerall, b. 11. ¶ 18.
- Edward **SEIMOUR** Duke of Somerset Lord Pro-  
tectour, b. 7. p. 372. ¶ 3. his tripartite accusation,  
p. 407. ¶ 36. imprisoned, yet restored, p. 408. ¶ 38.  
afterwards impeached of Treason, ¶ 42. and exe-  
cuted, p. 409. ¶ 43. unjustly, saith a good Au-  
thour, ¶ 44. (though King Edward was possessed  
of his guiltiness as appeareth by his letter, ibidem.)  
his character and commendation, p. 410. ¶ 45.
- SIDNEY SUSSEX** Colledge founded, Hist.  
of Camb. p. 153. ¶ 23, &c.
- SIGEBERT** King of the East-Angles, his Re-  
ligion, and Learning, C. 7. ¶ 45. reputed founder  
of the University of Camb. ¶ 46. the Cavill to the  
contrary answered, ¶ 49, &c.
- SIGEBERT** the pious King of the East-Saxons,  
C. 7. ¶ 81.
- SIMON ZELOTES** made by Dorotheus to  
preach in Britain, C. 1. ¶ 8.
- SIVIE COLLEDGE** in Spain for English fu-  
gitives, b. 9. p. 88.
- Mr. **SMART** sermied pro a Martyr of England,  
b. 11. p. 173. ¶ 35, &c.
- Sr. Tho. **SMITH** Benefactour generall to all Seko-  
lars, Hist. of Camb. p. 81. ¶ 37, 38. and also,  
p. 144. ¶ 6, 7, 8.
- Henry **SMITH** commonly called the Silver-tongued,  
b. 9. p. 142. ¶ 34.
- Rich. **SMITH** titularie Bishop of Chalcedon, b. 11.  
¶ 72. some write for, others against him: Episco-  
pizeth in England, b. 11. p. 137. ¶ 7. opposed by  
Nicholas Smith, and defended by Dr. Kelison, both  
zealous Papists, ¶ 8, 9, &c.
- SOBRIQUETS** what they were, b. 3. p. 30. ¶ 52  
fifteen principall of them, ibid.
- SODOMITRY** the beginning thereof in En-  
gland, b. 3. p. 19. ¶ 29. with too gentle a Canon  
against it, ibid.
- SOUTH SAXONS** their Kingdome, when be-  
gun, how bounded, C. 5. ¶ 17. converted to Chri-  
stianity by Wilfride, C. 7. ¶ 98, &c. taught by  
him first to fish, ¶ 101.
- SPALATO** his coming over into England, with  
the whole story of his stay here, departure hence,  
and burning at Rome for a Heretick after his death,  
b. 10. p. 93. unto the 100.
- King **STEPHEN** usurpeth the Crown, b. 3. p. 24.  
¶ 28. by the perjury of the Clergy, p. 25. ¶ 29.  
variety of opinions and arguments pro and con a-  
bout him, ¶ 30, 31, &c. the Clergy revolt from him,  
p. 27. ¶ 39. appeareth (as some say) in person, (sum-  
moned to a Synod in Winchester, p. 28. ¶ 43. a  
founder of Religious houses, p. 29. ¶ 46. his death,  
p. 30. ¶ 51.
- STEWES** suppressed by statute, b. 5. p. 239. ¶ 38.  
their Originals, ¶ 39. and Constitution, p. 140.  
¶ 40. arguments pro and con for their lawfulness,  
¶ 41, 42.
- STIGANDUS** Arch-bishop of Cant. his Simony,  
b. 3. ¶ 2. and covetousness, ¶ 4.
- Simon **STOCK** living in a trunk of a tree esteem-  
ed a Saint, b. 6. p. 272. ¶ 21.
- STONEHENGE**, the description and conceived  
occasion thereof, C. 3. ¶ 26.
- Tho. **STONE** a conscientious Non-conformist dis-  
covereth the Anatomy of the disciplinarian meet-  
ings, p. 107, &c. his sixteen Reasons in his own de-  
fence against his accusers herein, p. 209, &c.
- J. STORY** a most bloody persecutor, b. 8. s. 2.  
¶ 12. with a fine design trained into England,  
b. 9. p. 84. ¶ 20. executed his revenge on the  
executioner, ibid.
- STRASBURGH**: the congregation of English  
Exiles therein in the Reign of Q. Mary, b. 8. s. 2.  
¶ 41.
- Jack **STRAW** his rebellion, b. 4. p. 138. ¶ 18.  
his rabble of Rebels in Rhythme, p. 139. ¶ 19. their  
barbarous outrages, p. 140. ¶ 20. and ruin, ¶ 21.  
See Wat Tyler.
- STURBRIDGE FAIRE** the Originall  
thereof, Hist. of Camb. p. 66. ¶ 36.
- SUBSCRIPTION** first pressed by the Bishops,  
b. 9. p. 76. ¶ 66. and more rigorously, p. 102. ¶ 3.
- Simon **SUDBURY** Arch-bishop of Canterbury  
why silent in the conference at St. Pauls, b. 4.  
p. 136. ¶ 10. slain by the rebels under Jack Straws,  
¶ 20. being one hundred thousand, ¶ 21. founded  
(whilst living) Canterbury Colledge in Oxford,  
b. 5. p. (169.) ¶ 28.
- Matthew **SUTCLIFFE** Dean of Exeter his bound-  
ry to Chealsey Colledge, b. 10. p. 51. ¶ 22. the  
Lands of that Colledge restored to his heirs gene-  
rall, p. 55. ¶ 27.
- Richard **SUTTON** his death, b. 10. p. 75. ¶ 15.  
the severall manours bestowed by him on Char-  
ter-house, ¶ 16. the Cavils of Mr. Knot, ¶ 17.  
his constant prayer, p. 66. ¶ 20.



# I N D E X.

**SWEATING** sickness in Cambridge, the cause and cure thereof, *Hist. of Camb.* p. 128.

**Edward SYMPSON** an excellent Critick, *Hist. of Camb.* p. 123. ¶ 20. enjoyed a recantation before King James, p. 160. ¶ 44.

**SYON** nunnies their notorious wantonnesse, b. 6. p. 318. ¶ 8.

## T.

**Adam TARLETON** Bishop of Hereford his life and death letter, b. 3. p. 107. ¶ 28. thrice arraigned for his life, yet escapeth, p. 108.

**Mr. TAVERNOUR** high Sher. ff of Oxford, part of his Sermon preached at St. Maries, b. 9. p. 65. ¶ 35.

**TAVISTOCK** in Devon, the last mitred Abbot, made by King Henry the eighth, few years before the dissolution, b. 6. p. 293. ¶ 5.

**TAURINUS** how by mistake made the first Bishop of York, C. 2. ¶ 1.

**TAXERS** in Cambridge their original, *Hist. of Camb.* p. 10. ¶ 36, 37. &c.

**St. TELIAU** his high commendation, C. 6. ¶ 12.

**TEMPLES** of heathen Idols, converted into Christian Churches, C. 2. ¶ 11. our Churches succeed not to the holiness of Solomons Temple, but of the Jewish Synagogues, b. 11. p. 150. ¶ 51.

**TENTHS** their Original, why paid to the Pope, b. 5. p. 226. ¶ 1. commissioners (being unquestioned Gentlemen) employed by King Henry the eighth to rate them, ¶ 2. their Instructions, ¶ 3. Tenths remitted by Q. Mary, p. 228. ¶ 6. resumed by Q. Elizabeth, ¶ 7. in vain heaved at, at the present in our state, ¶ 8.

**A TERRIER** made of all Glebe Lands, b. 3. p. 113.

**New TESTAMENT:** severall Bishops assigned to peruse the translation of the several Books thereof, b. 5. p. 233. Gardiner gives in a List of Latine words which he would not have translated, p. 238. why, p. 239. ¶ 35.

**TEUXBURY** Abbot in Gloucestershire controverted whether or no a Baron in Parliament, b. 6. p. 294. ¶ 12.

**THEODORUS** Arch-bishop of Cant. C. 7. ¶ 95. setteth Easter according to the Romish Rite, ¶ 96. the Canons of a Council kept by him at Hartford, ibidem.

**Tho. THIRLEBY** Bishop of Ely sent to Rome to reconcile England to the Pope, b. 8. ¶ 42. no great persecuter in his Diocels in the dayes of Q. Mary, S. 2. ¶ 14. found favour under Q. Elizabeth, b. 9. ¶ 18. being a Prisoner to be envied, ibidem. though reputed a good man, wasted the lands of Westminster Church, whereof he the first and last Bishop, b. 9. ¶ 43.

**Thomas TISDALE** founder of Pembroke Colledge in Oxford, b. 11. ¶ 41.

**TYTHES** first given to the Clergie, C. 9. ¶ 8. &c. by King Athelwolphus. The objections against his grant answered, &c. ibidem. confirmed by the Charter of King William the Conquerour, b. 3. ¶ 12. three or ders exempted from payment of them, b. 6. p. 233. ¶ 3.

**THOR,** a Saxon Idol, his name, shape, and office, b. 2. C. 6. ¶ 6.

**John THRASK** censured for his Judaicall opinions, b. 10. p. 76. ¶ 64.

**George THROGMORTON** an Oxford man challengeth all Cambridge to dispute on two questions, *Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 104. ¶ 44. the ill success thereof, ¶ 45. &c.

**TOLERATION** of Papists set a-foot in the Reign of King James, with the arguments pro and

con, b. 10. p. 106. and 107. resumed and rejected in the Reign of K. Charles, b. 11. ¶ 56, 57, 58.

**Rob. TOUNSON** Bishop of Salisbury his death, b. 10. p. 91. ¶ 35.

**TRANSLATOORS** of the Bible their names, and number, b. 10. p. 45, 46. instructions given by King James, p. 47. their work finished, p. 58. and defended against causelesse Cavils, ibidem.

**TRINITY COLL.** in Oxford founded by Sir Tho. Pope, b. 8. S. 3. ¶ 43. being the first that gained by Abbey lands, and made a publick acknowledgement in charitable uses, ibidem. The Presidents, Bishops, Benefactors, &c. of that Colledge.

**TRINITY COLL.** in Cambridge founded by King Henry the eighth, *Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 121. ¶ 17. enriched by Queen Mary, p. 122. ¶ 18. and enlarged by Dr. Nevile, ¶ 19. the Masters, Bishops, Benefactors, &c. thereof, ibidem. States-men, Divines, Criticks, p. 122. ¶ 20.

**James TURBERVILLE** Bishop of Exeter no active persecuter, b. 8. S. 2. ¶ 2. findeth fair usage after his deprivation, b. 9. ¶ 19.

**TURNAMENTS** their ill effects, *History of Camb.* p. 11. ¶ 39. forbidden within five mile of Camb. ¶ 40. &c.

**Wat TYLER** his rebellions, b. 4. p. 138. ¶ 18. &c. paralleled with Judas of Galilee, p. 140. ¶ 21. the Wicklives defended from having any hand in causing his Rebellion, p. 141. ¶ 23. see Jack Straw.

**William TYNDAL** his story at large, b. 5. p. 224, 225.

**TUYSCA** a Saxon Idol his shape and office, b. 2. C. 6. ¶ 6.

**William TWISSE** prolocutor in the Assembly, b. 11. p. 199. ¶ 4. his death, p. 213. ¶ 53.

## V.

**VALLADOLIT COLL.** in Spain for English fugitives, b. 9. p. 87.

**Richard VAUGHAN** Bishop of London his death, b. 10. p. 49. ¶ 11.

**Master UDAL:** King James his letter for him, b. 9. p. 203. ¶ 30. arraigned and condemned, p. 221. ¶ 1.

**Richard VINES** his argument at Vxbridge treaty to prove the sufficiency of ordination by Presbyters, b. 11. p. 215. ¶ 65.

**Polydore VIRGIL** Collector of Peter-Pence in England, b. 5. p. (193.) ¶ 51. Benefactor to the Church of Wells, malefactor to the Church of England, ¶ 52, 53.

**Eight forraign UNIVERSITIES** conclude it unlawfull to marry a Brothers Wife, b. 5. p. (183.) ¶ 19.

**UNIVERSITY COLL.** in Oxon, founded by King Alfred, C. 9. ¶ 30. the maintenance paid out of the Kings Exchequer, ¶ 38. exhibitions allowed to the Scholars thereof why detained by William the Conqueror, b. 3. ¶ 16. re-founded and endowed, p. .

**UNIVERSITY Hall** in Cambridge founded by Richard Badew, *Hist. of Camb.* p. 37. ¶ 40. burnt down, ibidem. see Clare Hall.

**Conradus VORSTIUS** his dangerous opinions, b. 10. p. 60. opposed by King James, p. 61. in his letter to the States, ¶ 3. &c.

**K. VORTIGER** his incestuous match condemned by Germanus, C. 5. ¶ 13. calleth in the Saxons, ¶ 16. burning in lust is burnt to Ashes, ¶ 27.

**URSULA** her fabulous Martyrdome at Colen, (with 11000. Virgins attending her) confused. C. 5. ¶ 21.

¶ ¶ ¶

USUR-

# I N D E X.

**USURPERS** how far they are to be obeyed, in the case of King Stephen, b. 3. p. 25, 26, 27.  
**UXBRIDGE** treaty, the fruitlesse fruits thereof, b. 11. p. 214. ¶ 61. Conference about Church-matters therein, ¶ 63 &c.

## W.

**WADHAM COLLEDGE** in Oxford founded by Nicholas Wadham, b. 10. p. 68. ¶ 29, 30.  
**Peter of WAKEFIELD** prophesied against K. John; b. 3. p. 50. ¶ 12. hanged, p. 52. ¶ 16. whether justly or unjustly, disputed, *ibidem*.  
**WALTHAM ABBEY** why so named, *Hist. of Wal.* p. 5. ¶ 2. the situation thereof, ¶ 3. excused for its bad aire p. 6. ¶ 1. the Town first founded by one Tovy, ¶ 2. but Abby, by Earle Harold, ¶ 4. refounded by King Henry the second, p. 7.  
**Nicholas abbot of WALTHAM** most eminent, *Hist. of Wal.* p. 20. toward the end.  
**John de WALTHAM** keeper of the privy seale to K. Richard the second, *Hist. of Wal.* p. 30. near the end.  
**Roger de WALTHAM** a great Scholar, *Hist. of Wal.* p. 20. at the bottom.  
**William WARHAM** Arch-bishop of Canterbury his death, and character, b. 5. p. (184) ¶ 26.  
**John WARNER**, Bishop of Rochester, chosen to sollicite the Bps. cause when charged with a premunire, b. 11. p. 183. ¶ 7. pleadeth stoutly for their votes in Parliament, p. 194. ¶ 25.  
**William WATSON**, a Secular Priest, his notorious railing against the Jesuites, b. 10. ¶ 5, 6. his Treason against K. James, ¶ 14. and silly plea at his Execution, ¶ 17.  
**WEASEL**, the English Exiles under Q. Mary why quickly removing thence, b. 8. s. 2. ¶ 41.  
**WELCH**, two grand mistakes therein, b. 11. p. 170. ¶ 21. committed to Welch Bps. to amend it, *ibidem*.  
**WESTMINSTER** pretends to a Massacre of primitive Monks therein, Cent. 4. ¶ 9. a Church therein built by Edward the Confessor, said to be consecrated by St. Peter himself, C. 11. ¶ 22. five alterations in St. Peters therein within 30. yeares, b. 9. p. 70. ¶ 43.  
**Hether WESTPHALING**, Bishop of Hereford, seldom seen to laugh, b. 10. ¶ 10.  
**WEST-SAXONS**, their Kingdome when begun, how bounded, C. 5. ¶ 17.  
**William WHITACRE** Master of St. Johns in Camb. kindly resents a reproofe from one of the fellows, *Hist. of Camb.* p. 97. ¶ 18. his sicknesse and death, p. 151. ¶ 18. his sad & solemn funeral, ¶ 19.  
**John WHITE** swalloweth Simony to get the Bishoprick of Winchester, b. 8. s. 3. ¶ 42. preacheth a satyricall (yet flattering) Sermon, at the Funeralls of Q. Mary, ¶ 52. stirred against Q. Eliz. b. 9. ¶ 17.  
**St. THO. WHITE**, Lord Maior of London, foundeth St. Iohns Colledge in Ox. b. 8. s. 3. ¶ 44.  
**John WHITGIFT**, Dr. of D. after much clashing with Mr. Cartwright, *Hist. of Camb.* p. 140. expelleth him, *ibid.* his Letters when Archb. of Cant. to the L. Burleigh and other Lords, in defence of Conformity, b. 9. p. 147. &c. his death, b. 10. p. 25. ¶ 2. just defence against the exceptions of Mr. Pam, ¶ 23, 34, &c.  
**William WHITTINGHAM** head of the English non-conformists at Frankford, b. 8. s. 2. ¶ 7. with whom he departeth to Geneva, ¶ 10. a fierce Non-conformist (though Dean of Durham) in the beginning of Q. Eliz. b. 9. ¶ 71.

**John WICKLIFF** his parentage, learning, and opinions, b. 4. p. 130. ¶ 3. &c. marvelously spread and why, p. 142. ¶ 25. his quiet death, ¶ 26.  
**Richard WIGHTWICK** an eminent Benefactor to Pembroke Colledge in Oxford, b. 11. ¶ 41.  
**Edward WIGHTMAN** burnt for a Heretic, b. 10. p. 64. ¶ 13.  
**WILFRIDE** a Champion for the Romish Easter, C. 7. ¶ 90. his prevailing arguments, ¶ 91. envied by Theodorus Arch-bishop, ¶ 97. converteth the South-Saxons, ¶ 98, &c. persecuted by King Alfride, C. 8. ¶ 1. appealeth to Rome, ¶ 2. dyeth, ¶ 3.  
**WILLIAM** the first conquereth King Harold in fight, C. 11. ¶ 40. rebateth his conquering sword with composition, ¶ 41. calleth a Synod of his Bishops at Winchester, b. 3. ¶ 4. is civil to the Pope, ¶ 5. yet so as he is true to his own interest, ¶ 6. refuseth to do fealty to Pope Gregory the seventh, ¶ 7, 8. suffers none of his Barons to be excommunicated without his consent, ¶ 9. divides the jurisdiction of the Bishops from the Sheriffs, ¶ 10, 11. quits the Crown by Conquest, but kept it by composition, ¶ 13. his death and buriall, ¶ 25.  
**WILLIAM Rufus** crowned, b. 11. p. 10. ¶ 27. his covetousness, ¶ 28, 29. contests with Anselme, p. 11. ¶ 3.  
**John WILLIAMS**, Bishop of Lincoln, made Lord keeper, b. 10. p. 89. ¶ 24, 25. &c. preacheth King James his funerall Sermon, b. 11. ¶ 3. exceptions thereat, ¶ 4. excluded attendance at the Coronation, ¶ 17. looseth the Keepers place, ¶ 37. &c. is sued in the Star-Chamber, from p. 153, to 158. severely censured there, *ibidem*. fined the second time in the same Court, p. 165, 166. vindicateth his extraction, p. 183. ¶ 9. the first and most active in the Bishops protestation, p. 187. the brief account of his life and death, p. 225, 226.  
**WINCHESTER** pretends to a Massacre of Primitive Monks therein, C. 4. ¶ 9. King Stephen summoned, said to be present at a Synod there, b. 3. p. 28. ¶ 43, 44. a famous School therein founded by William Wickham, b. 4. p. 133. ¶ 30.  
**R. WINCELEY** Arch-bishop of Cant. humbled by King Edward the first, C. 1. p. 90. ¶ 4, &c. why finding no favour from the Pope, p. 91. ¶ 7. restored to his Archbishoprick, p. 92. ¶ 12.  
**WINE**, when first permitted to English Monks to drink, b. 2. p. 103. ¶ 28.  
**Dr. Thomas WINNIFF** preacheth in the convocation, b. 11. ¶ 65.  
**WODEN** a Saxon Idol his name, shape and office, b. 2. C. 6. ¶ 6.  
**WOMEN** present at a Church-council, C. 7. ¶ 107.  
**WOMENS** brawles, mens Thralls, b. 7. p. 407. ¶ 34, 35.  
**English WOOLS** improvement in manufactures, B. third, (but misprinted fourth,) p. 111. ¶ 6. when the Dutch workmen invited into England, ¶ 7, 8, &c.  
**WOOLFRED** Arch-bishop of Cant. kept a Concell at Celichyth, C. 9. ¶ 4. the acts thereof, *ibid.*  
**WOLPHERE** King of Mercia his cruel murdering of his Sons, C. 7. ¶ 86.  
**Thomas WOLSEY** Cardinal foundeth Cardinals Colledge in Oxford, b. 5. p. (169.) ¶ 27, &c. would have his servants serve none but the King, p. (171) ¶ 35. falleth into the Kings displeasure, & dyeth, b. 5. p. (178.) ¶ 2, &c.  
**WOLSTAN** Bishop of Worcester, the English Janus, keeps his Bishoprick by resigning it, b. 3. ¶ 22. his death, 34.

Nich.



# I N D E X.

Nich. WOOTTON, Dean of Cant. and York, his death and character, b. 9. p. 81. ¶. 11.

Dr. WRIGHT a moderate Visitor in Oxford, b. 8. ¶. 9. recanteth and dyeth a Protestant in his perfect senses, notwithstanding Sanders Slanders to the contrary, *ibidem*.

St. Tho. WYAT his rising to hinder the Spanish match, b. 8. ¶. 25. how his fool abused the Queens Herald, ¶. 26, 27, 28. his insolent demands, ¶. 30. entreth Southwark and quitteth it, ¶. 31, 32. retarded in his March, ¶. 34. stopped at Ludgate and taken in Fleetstreet, ¶. 37. penitent at his execution, ¶. 38.

## Y.

A YEAR ill lost, and well found in the Saxon Chronologie, C. 7. ¶. 62.

Ed. YEAR, if his name was not Anne, his dear Poetry against the Masse, wherein every verse cost him a lash, b. 8. ¶. 14.

YORK: Constantius Chlorus buried there, C. 4. ¶. 13. layeth claime to the birth of Constantine the Emperour, ¶. 18. an Arch-bishops Pall bestowed thereon by Pope Gregory, C. 7. ¶. 1. claimeth precedence of Canterbury, b. 3. p. 38. ¶. 3. on what

Title, *ibid.* the Arch-bishops thereof not satisfied with the Popes nice distinction, p. 39. ¶. 45.

YORK and Lancaster houses the Battels betwixt them for the Crown; Place, time, number slain, and Conquerour, b. 4 p. 186, and 187.

YORK Clergy, though late, at last acknowledged the Kings Supremacy, b. 5. p. (188.) ¶. 49, 50, &c.

Thomas YOUNG Arch-bishop of York, lost by gaining, b. 9. p. 83. ¶. 14. his death, *ibidem*.

John YOUNG Bishop of Rochester his death, b. 10. p. 39. ¶. 44.

## Z.

Baltazer ZANCHES a Spanish protestant builds an Almes-house for the Eng. poore at Totnam, b. 9. p. 234. ¶. 35. he the first (his family since the best) confectioners in England, *ibidem*.

Eudo de ZO UCH the first person of honour Chancellor of Cambridge, Hist. of Camb. p. 57. ¶. 62. therefore not exacted obedience of the Bishop of Ely.

ZURICH: the Congregation of English [most learned] Exiles therein in the dayes of Q. Mary, b. 8. S. 2. ¶. 41. who refuse to joyn with those at Frankford and why, ¶. 46.

## E R R A T A.

Book.	pag.	lin.		Book.	pag.	lin.	
2	105	12	For Sarisbury, read Sherborn.	40	40		for Faithfull, read Thankfull Owen.
3	25	2	after, since the Conquest, add, which left any issue.	9	70	43	for roasted, read wasted.
4	141	11	in these two. lines transpose Harpsfield, for Alanns Copus.	109	21		for Sr. Iames (in some coppies not corrected) read, Sr. Henry.
	185	22	read it thus, of his Predecessour Wickham, or Successour Wainfleet.	145	32		for Mr. Yeale, read Master Yeale.
5	(156)	15	for Dr. Greenhil, read Dr. Daniel Greenwood.	167	4	2	for Anthony, read Christopher.
	(187)	31	for But He, read Be He therefore.	185	22		for Detestation, read Detention.
	(196)	39	for 8. shillings, read, four shillings.	10	21	21	for ἀγαπ, read ἀγαπῶ.
	(279)	30	for Impunity, read Impurity.	93	12		for can thereof, read thereof can.
6	344	15	for Briston, read Brniton.	11	119	39	for he left, read fel.
	369	21	for St. Johns, read St. Maryes.		40		for Sisters, read Brothers Son.
7	388	15	for the second, read the sixth.	182	16		for greater, read lesser.
8	14	39	for Grandchild to Edward the fourth, read great Grandchild to Edward the fourth his Father.	216	53		Prebendarie of Stanford, dele Prebendarie.
				217	1		for Colchester, read Gloucester.
				235	28		for Truth is to be, read belief is to be.
				158	41		for Sciarum, read Scientiarum.
				160	30		for Majestie, read Majoritie.

## Courteous Reader,

I Am sensible of a mistake in the Catalogue of Vice-Chancellours and Proctours of Cambridge, (besides a needless repetition of *twos twice*) betwixt the years 1617, and 1620. *inclusively*. It arose from some difference betwixt the written Coppies I used, and such (I believe, the truer) as are since printed.

I see *what*, not *whither*, to fly, who can discover, do confesse, but [for the present] cannot rectify the Error, craving the charitable assistance of my Mothers Sons herein.

The best is, all the mistake lyeth within the compasse of three years, (all officers being right before and after) and the Fortunes of Greece, the Truth I mean of our Church-History, is not concerned therein.

## F I N I S.

INDEX

1. The first part of the book is devoted to a general survey of the subject. It includes a chapter on the history of the subject, a chapter on the present state of the subject, and a chapter on the future of the subject. The second part of the book is devoted to a detailed study of the subject. It includes a chapter on the theory of the subject, a chapter on the practice of the subject, and a chapter on the application of the subject. The third part of the book is devoted to a critical examination of the subject. It includes a chapter on the strengths and weaknesses of the subject, a chapter on the contributions of the subject, and a chapter on the limitations of the subject.

INDEX

1. The first part of the book is devoted to a general survey of the subject. It includes a chapter on the history of the subject, a chapter on the present state of the subject, and a chapter on the future of the subject. The second part of the book is devoted to a detailed study of the subject. It includes a chapter on the theory of the subject, a chapter on the practice of the subject, and a chapter on the application of the subject. The third part of the book is devoted to a critical examination of the subject. It includes a chapter on the strengths and weaknesses of the subject, a chapter on the contributions of the subject, and a chapter on the limitations of the subject.

INDEX

1. The first part of the book is devoted to a general survey of the subject. It includes a chapter on the history of the subject, a chapter on the present state of the subject, and a chapter on the future of the subject. The second part of the book is devoted to a detailed study of the subject. It includes a chapter on the theory of the subject, a chapter on the practice of the subject, and a chapter on the application of the subject. The third part of the book is devoted to a critical examination of the subject. It includes a chapter on the strengths and weaknesses of the subject, a chapter on the contributions of the subject, and a chapter on the limitations of the subject.



D Folio

F 2410

123034

REPRODUCED FROM THE COPY IN THE

**HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY**

FOR REFERENCE ONLY. NOT FOR REPRODUCTION